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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

# HISTORY

OF THE

# SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

# EUROPEANS

IN THE

# EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Tranſlated from the French of the

ABBÉ RAYNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M.A.

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## BOOK VIII.

*Conquest of Chili and Paraguay by the Spaniards. Principles on which Spain regulates her colonies.*

BOOK VIII.

By what means the Spaniards made themselves masters of Chili.

THE country known by the name of Chili, is bounded on the east by immense deserts, that reach as far as Paraguay. To the west, it extends along the South Sea, from the frontiers of Peru to the streights of Magellan. The Incas had prevailed upon great part of the inhabitants of that vast region to submit to their wise laws, and intended to subdue the whole, had they not met with insuperable difficulties.

THIS important project was resumed by the Spaniards, as soon as they had conquered the princi-

BOOK VIII. pal provinces of Peru. In the beginning of 1535, Almagro ſet out from Cuſco, and paſſed the Cordeleras; and though he had loſt a great part of the ſoldiers who attended him in his expedition, he was received with the greateſt marks of ſubmiſſion by the nations that had been formerly under the dominion of the empire that had juſt been ſubverted. The terror of his arms would, probably, have procured him greater advantages, had not ſome concerns of a private nature brought him back to the center of the empire, where he ended his days in an unfortunate manner.

THE Spaniards appeared again in Chili in 1541. Baldivia, their leader, entered it without the leaſt oppoſition. The inhabitants were gathering in their crops; but as ſoon as harveſt was over, they took up arms, and never laid them down for ten years. Some diſtricts, indeed, diſcouraged by the continual loſſes they ſuſtained, at length ſubmitted, but the reſt reſolutely fought for their liberty, though they were generally defeated.

AN Indian captain, whoſe age and infirmities confined him to his hut, was continually told of theſe misfortunes. The grief of ſeeing his people always beaten by a handful of ſtrangers, inſpired him with courage. He formed thirteen companies of a thouſand men each, which he led againſt the enemy. They marched one after another, and he ordered that if the firſt company were routed, it ſhould not fall back upon the next, but rally and be ſupported by it. This order, which was ſtrictly

ſtrictly obeyed, diſconcerted the Spaniards. They forced through all the companies one after another, without gaining any advantage. As both the men and horſes wanted reſt, Baldivia retreated towards a defile, where he judged he could eaſily defend himſelf; but the Indians did not allow him time ſufficient to ſecure his retreat thither. Their rear marched through bye-ways and took poſſeſſion of the defile, while their vanguard followed him with ſo much precaution, that he was ſurrounded and maſſacred, together with his hundred and fifty men. It is ſaid that the ſavages poured melted gold down his throat, ſaying, *glut thyſelf with that metal thou art ſo fond of.* BOOK VIII.

They availed themſelves of this victory, to burn and deſtroy many of the European ſettlements, which would all have ſhared the ſame fate, had they not been timely aſſiſted by ſome conſiderable reinforcements from Peru, which enabled them to defend their beſt fortified poſts. They extended themſelves a little after this, but never acquired the ſmalleſt portion of additional territory without fighting for it. Of all the countries in America which the Spaniards have attempted to ſubdue, this is the one in which they have always met with, and ſtill find the greateſt reſiſtance.

Their moſt irreconcileable enemies are the inhabitants of Arauco and Tucapel, thoſe to the ſouth of the river Bobio, or who extend towards the Cordeleras. Their manners, which bear a greater reſemblance to thoſe of the

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ſavages of North America, than to thoſe of the Peruvians their neighbours, render them conſequently more formidable. When they go to war, they carry nothing with them, and want neither tents, nor baggage. The ſame trees from which they gather their food, ſupply them with lances and darts. As they are ſure of finding in one place what they had in another, they willingly reſign any country which they are unable to defend. All places are equally indifferent to them. Their troops being free from all incumbrance of proviſions and ammunition, march with ſurpriſing agility. They expoſe their lives like men who ſet little value on them; and if they loſe the field of battle, they are not at a loſs for magazines and encampments wherever there is ground covered with fruits. They ſometimes invite their neighbours to join them to attack the common enemy, and this they call throwing the arrow, becauſe this call flies as ſwiftly and ſilently as an arrow from one habitation to another. Very frequently a drunken fellow wantonly calls to arms; the alarm is inſtantly ſpread, a chief is choſen, and war is determined. A certain night is immediately fixed upon, in the dead of which, the time they always chuſe for the commencement of hoſtilities, they fall upon the next village where there are Spaniards, and from thence proceed to others. They murder all the inhabitants, except the white women, whom they always carry off. This is the true origin of the

many

many white and fair Indians that are to be met with.

Before the enemy has time to collect his forces, they all unite in one body. Their army, though more formidable from their numbers than from their discipline, is not afraid of attacking the posts that are most strongly fortified. This fury often succeeds, because they are so constantly supplied with reinforcements, that they are not sensible of their losses. If these are so considerable as to oblige them to desist, they retire to the distance of a few leagues, and five or six days after, fall upon some other place. These barbarians never think they are beaten, unless they are surrounded. If they can take possession of a place difficult of access, they think they are conquerors. The head of one Spaniard, which they carry off in triumph, comforts them for the death of a hundred Indians. Such a people must necessarily conquer.

The country is of such considerable extent, that when they find themselves in danger from the enemy, they forsake their possessions, and remove into some impenetrable forest. Recruited by other Indians, they soon return into the parts they had before inhabited; and this alternate succession of flight and resistance, of boldness and fear, is the circumstance that renders them unconquerable.

War is to them a kind of amusement. As it is neither expensive nor inconvenient to them, they have nothing to apprehend from its continuance; and it is a constant rule with them never

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to sue for peace. The pride of Spain must always condescend to make the first overtures. When these are favourably received, a conference is held. The governor of Chili and the Indian general, attended by the most distinguished captains on both sides, settle the terms of accommodation, at a convivial meeting. The Spaniards are always obliged to purchase peace by some presents, and after a variety of fruitless attempts, they have been forced to give up all thoughts of extending their conquests, and reduced to cover their frontiers by erecting forts at proper distances. These precautions are taken to prevent the Indians who have submitted, from joining the independent savages, and likewise to repel the inroads of the latter into the colonies.

Present state of the Spaniards at Chili.

THESE colonies are dispersed on the borders of the South Sea; they are parted from Peru by a desert that measures eighty leagues, and bounded by the island of Chiloe, at the extremity next the streights of Magellan. On that great length of coast, there are no settlements except those of Baldivia, Conception island, Valparaiso and Coquimbo or La Serena, which are all sea-ports. In the inland country is St. Jago, the capital of the colony. There is nō culture nor habitation at any distance from these towns. The buildings are all very low, made of unburnt brick, and mostly thatched. This practice is observed, on account of the frequent earthquakes, and is properly adapted

adapted to the nature of the climate, as well as the indolence of the inhabitants. BOOK VIII.

They are robuſt and well-ſhaped men, but few in number. In all that large ſettlement, there are not 20,000 white men, and not more than 60,000 negroes or Indians, able to bear arms. The military eſtabliſhment amounted formerly to 2000 men; but the maintaining of them was found too expenſive, and they were reduced to 500 at the beginning of the century. This reduction has made no alteration in the tranquillity of the colony, becauſe theſe Indians pay no poll-tax, and are treated with more humanity than in the other conquered provinces. The bravery which they had exerted in the defence of their liberty, made them obtain more favourable terms when they ſurrendered; and the capitulation has never been broken, for fear they ſhould join with the independent nations in the neighbourhood.

If Chili is uninhabited, it is not owing to the climate, which is one of the moſt wholeſome in the world. The vicinity of the Cordeleras gives it ſuch a delightful temperature, as could not otherwiſe be expected in that latitude. There is not a more pleaſant province in all the mother country.

The richneſs of its gold mines has been too much extolled. Their united produce never exceeds five millions of livres * a year. The gold was formerly brought over in bullion; but ever ſince the



* 218,750l.

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year 1749, it is coined in the mint ſet up at St. Jago. The excellent copper mines of Coquimbo ſupply the whole kingdom of Peru.

A MORE certain ſource of wealth, though leſs pleaſing to the poſſeſſors, is the prodigious fertility of the ſoil. All the European fruits have improved in that happy climate. The wine would be excellent, if nature were aſſiſted by art. The corn harveſt is reckoned a bad one, when it does not yield a hundred fold.

Connections of Chili with the Indians, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

WITH all theſe advantages, Chili has no direct intercourſe with the mother country. Their whole trade is confined to Peru, Paraguay, and the ſavages on their own frontiers.

THE inhabitants of Chili ſell their moſt ordinary and leſs valuable commodities to theſe ſavages for oxen, horſes, and their own children, whom they are ready to part with for the moſt trifling things.

THOUGH they are paſſionately fond of ſuch baubles when expoſed to their view, they never think of them when they are removed from their ſight; nor will they come out of their woods and deſerts to procure them; ſo that the Spaniards are under a neceſſity of carrying theſe trifles to them. A Spaniard who intends to undertake this trade, firſt applies to the heads of families, in whom alone reſides all public authority. When he has obtained leave to ſell, he goes through all the villages, and diſtributes his goods indiſcriminately among all who aſk for them. When they are all

diſ-

diſpoſed of, he gives notice of his departure, and every one who has purchaſed any thing of him, brings, without delay, to the village where he firſt made his appearance, the goods agreed for between them. There has never been any inſtance of diſhoneſty in this traffic. The merchant is allowed an eſcort to aſſiſt him in conducting the cattle and ſlaves he has received in payment, to the frontiers of the country.

WINE and ſpirituous liquors were ſold till the year 1724 to theſe people, who, like moſt other ſavages, are exceſſively fond of them. When they were intoxicated they uſed to take up arms, maſſacre all the Spaniards they met with, and ſuddenly attack the forts, and ravage the country near their dwellings. Theſe outrages were ſo often repeated, that it was found neceſſary ſtrictly to forbid this dangerous trade. The good effects of the prohibition are daily felt. The commotions of theſe people are leſs frequent and leſs dangerous, and their peaceable behaviour has brought on a viſible increaſe of intercourſe with them; but it is not likely it ſhould ever be ſo great as that with Peru.

CHILI ſupplies Peru with great plenty of hides, dried fruit, copper, ſalt meat, horſes, hemp, lard, wheat and gold. In exchange for theſe articles, Peru ſends tobacco, ſugar, cocoa, earthen ware, woollen cloth, linen, hats made at Quito, and every article of luxury that is brought from Europe. The ſhips ſent from Callao on this traffic were

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were formerly bound for Conception Bay, but now come to Valparaiſo. The voyage was at firſt ſo tedious, that a whole year was neceſſary to complete it. The ſailors never ventured to loſe ſight of land, and followed all the windings of the coaſt. An European pilot, who had obſerved the winds, performed that navigation in one month. They conſidered him as a magician, and he was taken up by order of the inquiſition, whoſe ignorance becomes an object of ridicule, when its cruelty does not excite our abhorrence. The journal he produced was his vindication; and it plainly appeared that to perform the ſame voyage, it was only neceſſary to keep clear of the coaſts. His method was, therefore, univerſally adopted.

THE colony of Chili acts upon a very different plan in its tranſactions with that of Paraguay. The intercourſe between the two colonies is not carried on by ſea; as it would then be neceſſary either to paſs the ſtreights of Magellan or to double Cape Horn, which the Spaniards always avoid as much as poſſible. They find it ſafer and even cheaper, to go by land, though it is three hundred leagues from St. Jago to Buenos Ayres, and that they muſt travel forty leagues through the ſnows and precipices of the Cordeleras.

CHILI ſends to Paraguay ſome woollen ſtuffs called *ponchos*, which are uſed for cloaks. It alſo ſends wines, brandy, oil, and chiefly gold; and receives in return wax, a kind of tallow fit to make ſoap, the herb of Paraguay, European goods

goods, and as many negroes as Buenos Ayres can furniſh. Thoſe negroes that come from Panama, as numbers of them are loſt by a long navigation and frequent change of climate, are purchaſed at a higher price, and are not ſo robuſt.

CHILI is a ſtate entirely diſtinct from Peru, and is governed by a chief who is abſolute in all political, civil, and military affairs, and independent of the viceroy, who has no authority except when a governor dies, to appoint one in his room for a time, till the mother country names a ſucceſſor. If on ſome occaſions the viceroy has interfered in the government of Chili, it was when he has been either authoriſed by a particular truſt repoſed in him by the court, or by the deference paid to the eminence of his office; or when he has been actuated by that ambition which naturally prompts men in power to extend their authority. Paraguay enjoys the ſame independence.

Settlement of the Spaniards in Paraguay.

PARAGUAY is bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the ſouth by the country bordering on the ſtreights of Magellan, on the eaſt by the Brazils, and on the weſt by Chili and Peru. It derives its name from a large river that comes down from the lake Xarayes, and runs nearly from north to ſouth; and after having made ſeveral windings through an immenſe ſpace, falls into the ſea about the 35th degree of ſouth latitude.

THIS region, which is about 500 leagues long and 300 broad, is very much diverſified. It contains vaſt foreſts, long ridges of mountains, low lands

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lands that are under water great part of the year, and moraſſes that conſtantly corrupt the air by their ſtagnating waters. The roving nations who inhabit theſe deſerts are all of an olive complexion, though in a different degree, are above the middle ſize, and have flat faces. The men and children are generally naked, eſpecially in the hot countries, and the women wear hardly any covering. All travellers agree in giving a very unfavourable account of theſe people; whom they repreſent as extremely ſtupid, fickle, perfidious, and gluttonous; much addicted to drunkenneſs, without any foreſight, and exceſſively indolent and cowardly. If on certain occaſions ſome of them have given proofs of a kind of furious courage, it was owing to their being impelled by the deſire of plunder or the ſpirit of revenge.

They live upon hunting, fiſhing, wild fruits, honey, which is commonly found in the foreſts, and roots that grow ſpontaneous. Some few eat maize and caſſada; and they often change their habitations, with a view of procuring greater plenty of food. As they have nothing to remove but a few earthen veſſels, theſe emigrations are extremely eaſy; and they can find branches of trees in every place to build their huts with. Though every Indian thinks himſelf free, and lives in a ſtate of abſolute independence, yet the neceſſity of mutual defence has obliged them to form themſelves into a kind of ſociety. Some families unite under the direction of a leader of their own choice. Theſe aſ-

associations, which are more or less numerous, in proportion to the reputation and abilities of the chief, are as easily dissolved as formed.

The discovery of the river Paraguay, since called Rio de la Plata, was made in 1516, by Diaz de Solis, a noted pilot of Castile. He and most of his men were put to death by the natives, who, to avoid being enslaved, some years after also destroyed the Portuguese of Brazil.

The two rival nations, equally alarmed by these calamities, gave up all thoughts of Paraguay, and turned their avaricious views towards another place. The Spaniards accidentally returned there in 1526.

Sebastian Cabot, who in 1496 had made the discovery of Newfoundland for the crown of England, finding that kingdom was too much taken up with domestic affairs to think of making settlements in a new world, offered his services to Spain, where his reputation made him be fixed upon to conduct an important expedition.

The *Victory*, celebrated for being the first ship that ever sailed round the world, the only one of Magellan's squadron that returned to Europe, had brought a great quantity of spices from the Moluccas. The great profit that was made upon this sale, occasioned a second expedition, and the command was given to Cabot. In pursuing the track of the former voyage, he arrived at the mouth of the Plata. Whether he was in want of provisions necessary for a longer voyage, or whether,

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ther, which is more probable, his men began to be mutinous, he ſtopped there. He ſailed up the river, and built a fortreſs at the entrance of the river Riotecero, which comes down from the mountains of Tucuman. All the incidents that ſucceeded this eſtabliſhment, are recorded with miraculous circumſtances by the Spaniſh hiſtorians. To evince the falſhood of them, we ſhall only relate them in their own ſtyle and manner.

NUNO de Lara was appointed to guard the firſt bulwark, erected on the fortunate banks of the Paraguay, to afford the Spaniards the opportunity of making themſelves maſters of all the riches of a world deſtined by heaven, for a people who of all Chriſtendom were the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their faith and attachment to religion. If the governor had been ſupplied only with as many ſoldiers as there were nations to fight or to expel, he would have depended upon the valour of the Spaniards that had ſo often ſignalized itſelf, to inſure the conqueſt of Paraguay. But no more than a hundred and twenty men had been given him to oppoſe ſuch innumerable people. He, therefore, thought it adviſeable to ſecure his ſituation by an alliance with the Timbuez, a nation bordering on his government. Mangora, their cacique, was delighted with the character of Nuno, and accepted propoſals which were intended to honour and diſtinguiſh him from that multitude of ſavages who were deſtined to be one day the ſlaves of that nation, which was the miſtreſs of the new world.

The

The Spaniard received him with kindneſs. But let us admire the power of love, who not content with triumphing over gods and heroes, delights in ſubduing the fierceneſs of barbarous nations. His quiver has ſurer and more deadly arrows than the poiſoned darts of the Indian. BOOK VIII.

THE cacique was inflamed with love at the ſight of a lady, whoſe name was Lucia Miranda, the wife of the invincible captain Sebaſtian Hurtado. From that inſtant the cacique became furious, and felt that it would be in vain for America to pretend to reſiſt a nation, each of whoſe ſoldiers deſtroyed whole armies, and each of whoſe women could lay all their chiefs at her feet. He ventured to confeſs his love to her who did not condeſcend to take notice of it. But, in order to ſeduce by artifice a woman whom he deſpaired of obtaining by violence, he laid a plan to work upon the ambition of Hurtado. He invited him with Miranda to come and receive the homage of his whole nation, giving him to underſtand that a beauty deſtined to triumph in both worlds, would for ever ſecure an alliance to the Spaniards with ſuch of the Timbuez as might ſtill doubt the ſuperority of ſo celebrated a people; and who would be convinced, when they ſhould ſee from what ſource of heroiſm the Europeans derived that courage which enabled them with ſo much facility to become maſters of the world: for terror had ſpread the fame of the Spaniſh arms, from one tropic to the

BOOK VIII. the other, more effectually and with greater rapidity, than even victory itself.

HURTADO, who had been informed by his chaste wife, of the cacique's fatal attachment thought it incumbent upon him, from motives of pity, to deceive a passion which he could not extinguish without destroying that unfortunate prince. He answered him, that no European soldier would dare to quit his camp or his garrison, without leave of the general or governor, nor could ask such a favour without disgrace, unless it were to fight and conquer. The cacique, enlightened by love, who seems only to blind happy lovers, perceived clearly that the Spaniard trifled with his passion; and as he found he could never be happy but by the death of his rival, he resolved to destroy him. This could only be effected by treachery; for it was impossible that Hurtado should fear any but cowards.

THE cacique was informed that Hurtado was gone out of the garrison with fifty of his invincible soldiers to procure provisions by force of arms. The garrison was extremely weakened by the absence of that captain. Mangora with expedition collected a body of four thousand Indians well armed, and concealed them in a covered morass near the citadel. Then marching to the gates with thirty of his men loaded with provisions, he sent word to Lara, that having been informed that the Spaniards, whom he considered as his friends, were in want of provisions, he had hastened to

offer

offer them ſome, till the convoy ſhould return with a freſh ſupply. The generoſity of the general could not poſſibly be induced to ſuſpect any ſnares of perfidy in the preſents and voluntary offers of an ally. Lara received the cacique with the ſincereſt teſtimonies of gratitude, and treated him and his company with what foreign European proviſions he was able to add to the natural produce of the country. From this variety an entertainment was prepared; and the Spaniards intoxicated fell into the arms of ſleep, or rather into thoſe of deſtruction.



THE cacique had before apprized his eſcort and the troops he had placed in ambuſcade with his intent. Every circumſtance had been previouſly arranged and concerted to carry the moſt infamous treachery into execution. The Spaniards were ſcarce fallen aſleep, when the light of the flames, by which the magazine was ſet on fire, gave the ſignal to the Timbuez to advance, in order to ſack the place. The ſoldiers who were appointed to guard it, and whom the tumult and light of the flames had juſt rouzed from their ſleep, ran intoxicated as they were, to extinguiſh it. During this confuſion, the contrivers of the ſtratagem opened the gates to their companions, and the whole troop, armed with poinards, fell upon the Spaniards, who could neither eſcape the fire nor the ſword. Lara, mortally wounded, was leſs ſolicitous to extract the arrow from his own ſide than to plunge his ſword into the heart of Man-

BOOK VIII. gora. The cacique and he fell mangling each other; and they both expired together in a ſtream of blood that flowed from the Spaniards and the Indians; blood that could not be mixed and confounded but in their mutual deſtruction.

FOUR women and as many children with Miranda, the innocent and ill fated cauſe of ſo tragical a ſcene, were the only perſons left in the place. Thoſe ſorrowful victims were carried to Siripa, the brother and ſucceſſor of the perfidious cacique. The love of the latter paſſed into his brother's heart, like a fire rekindled from his aſhes. Like the ſun himſelf, who ſhines on the rich banks of Paraguay, Miranda could not ſhew herſelf, without inflaming with love all who beheld her. But the paſſion ſhe inſpired ſometimes diſplayed itſelf in the fury of deſpair, and ſometimes in the weakneſs of ſubmiſſion and intreaty. Siripa threw himſelf at her feet, and declared that ſhe was not only free, but that ſhe ſhould reign over the chief and the people, which her charms would have ſubdued to Spain more effectually than the arms of a victorious nation. How can ſhe yet, added he, remember an unfortunate huſband, fallen no doubt under the arrows of the Indian conſpirators?

MIRANDA, ſtill more offended at the love of the new cacique, than ſhe had been inſenſible to that of his brother, anſwered him with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of contempt and inſult, preferring death rather than a crown from the hand of a ſavage. Had ſhe croſſed the ſeas with her huſ-

band,

band, to forſake and betray him in a world where the European women ought to ſet the example of virtue, as the men did that of bravery? But Siripa, having no conception of a conjugal fidelity, which appeared to him as extraordinary as the heroiſm of the Spaniards, thought that time would gradually weaken thoſe ſentiments in a ſex not formed to ſuſtain a long reſiſtance; or that at leaſt ſo much pride could not be conquered but by tenderneſs. In vain did Miranda obſtinately repulſe the attention of the cacique; he oppoſed nothing but kindneſs and reſpect to the conſtancy of her denials.

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HURTADO, however, upon his return from his expedition, found nothing but a heap of aſhes ſtained with blood on the ſpot where he had left a citadel. His eyes ſought Miranda every where, without diſcovering ſo much as the ſhadow or the footſteps of that faithful wife. At length he heard that ſhe was amongſt the perfidious Indians, who in one night had perpetrated ſo many crimes. No danger could deter him from endeavouring to reſcue Miranda from her raviſhers. His preſence kindled all the fury of jealouſy in the ſoul of the cacique. He immediately ordered that Spaniard, the ſight of whom was odious to him for many reaſons, to be put to death. Miranda prevailed upon this barbarian to relent, and obtained a repeal of the ſentence pronounced againſt her huſband. She even obtained the permiſſion of ſeeing him ſometimes: but on condition that if they ventured

BOOK VIII. to give way to love, or to indulge in its tranſports, the firſt moment of their happineſs ſhould be the laſt of their lives. A prohibition infinitely more cruel than that which the king of the infernal regions impoſed upon the hapleſs Orpheus! Is it poſſible that a man ſhould poſſeſs an amiable wife and not ſee her? Is it poſſible that he ſhould ſee her frequently, and never give way to conjugal endearments? What could Siripa expect from the torment to which he had condemned this unhappy pair? Love is ſtrengthened by voluntary ſelf-denial and the reſtraints itſelf impoſes, but cannot brook compulſion. Prohibition tends only to excite its deſires, danger adds to its audacity, and even the fear of death urges it to partake of the joys of life. After having happily paſſed ſeveral days in mutually comforting each other in their ſlavery, and ſhedding floods of tears which are conſtantly excited, dried up, and renewed in the tender endearments of a virtuous and perſecuted love; this unfortunate pair ventured to wiſh for one of thoſe happy moments the poſſeſſion of which compenſates years of pain. After having ſeen each other ſeveral times, alternately promiſing and denying themſelves every pleaſure that love can impart; in hopes of meeting again at ſome favourable opportunity, when they might freely renew the ſacred rights of marriage; at length, love, which neither chains, tyrants, nor death can reſtrain, claimed the tribute which virtue offers up to heaven in the embraces of conjugal fidelity.

The

The barbarous Siripa one day ſurpriſed Hurtado in the arms of Miranda. They were condemned to die, and dragged from the nuptial bed to the ſtake, where they ended their lives by a lingering death, in view of each other, amidſt the ſighs of everlaſting love. BOOK VIII.

During this tranſaction, Moſchera being now become the chief of the few Spaniards that remained, embarked with his little company on board a veſſel that lay at anchor. By this event, Paraguay was totally delivered from the nation that threatened its liberty. This tranquillity was of ſhort duration. Some more conſiderable forces appeared on the river in 1535, and laid the foundation of Buenos Ayres. The new colony ſoon wanted proviſions. All who attempted to procure them were murdered by the ſavages; and it became neceſſary to forbid any one, upon pain of death, from going beyond the limits of the new ſettlement.

A woman whom hunger had certainly inſpired with reſolution to brave the fear of death, eluded the vigilance of the guards who were poſted round the colony, to preſerve it from the dangers it was expoſed to in conſequence of the famine. Maldonata, for ſuch was the name of the fugitive, having wandered about for ſome time in unknown and unfrequented roads, entered a cave to repoſe herſelf. A lioneſs, whom ſhe met with there, filled her with extreme terror, which was ſoon changed into ſurpriſe, when ſhe perceived this formidable

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midable animal approaching her with ſigns of fear, and then careſſing and licking her hands with mournful cries, rather calculated to excite compaſſion than dread. Maldonata ſoon perceived that the lioneſs was with whelp, and that her groans were the complaints of a dam who calls for help to get rid of her burden. Maldonata was inſpired with courage, and aſſiſted the efforts of nature in that painful moment, when ſhe ſeems reluctantly to give life to all beings which they are to enjoy for ſo ſhort a time. The lioneſs being ſafely delivered, ſoon went out in queſt of proviſion, which ſhe brought and laid at the feet of her benefactreſs. She daily ſhared it with the little whelps, who, brought into life by her aſſiſtance, and bred up with her, ſeemed by their playful and harmleſs bites to acknowledge an obligation, which their dam repaid with the tendereſt marks of attention. But when they grew bigger, and found themſelves impelled by natural inſtinct to ſeek their own prey, and ſufficiently ſtrong to ſeize and devour it, the family diſperſed in the woods; and the lioneſs, who was no longer called to the cave by maternal tenderneſs, diſappeared likewiſe to roam about the foreſt, which her hunger daily depopulated.

MALDONATA, alone and without ſuſtenance, was forced to quit a cavern which was an object of terror to ſo many living creatures, but which her pity had made a place of ſafety for her. She now felt with ſorrow the want of a ſociety, that had

had been of ſuch ſignal ſervice to her: ſhe did not wander for any conſiderable time, before ſhe fell into the hands of the ſavages. She had been fed by a lioneſs, and was made a ſlave by men. She was ſoon after retaken by the Spaniards, who brought her back to Buenos Ayres. The commandant, more ſavage than the lions or the wild Indians, did not think her ſufficiently puniſhed for her flight by all the dangers and miſeries ſhe had endured: he had the cruelty to order her to be tied to a tree in the middle of a wood, and there left to ſtarve, or be devoured by wild beaſts. BOOK VIII.

Two days after, ſome ſoldiers went to ſee what was become of the unhappy victim. They found her alive, ſurrounded with hungry tygers, who were eager to devour her, but were kept at a diſtance by a lioneſs who lay at her feet with her whelps. This ſight ſtruck the ſoldiers motionleſs with pity and terror. When the lioneſs ſaw them, ſhe withdrew from the tree, as if to make room for them to unbind her benefactreſs: but when they took her away, the animal followed ſlowly at ſome diſtance, endeavouring to confirm, by her careſſes and tender complaints, the wonders of gratitude which the woman was relating to her deliverers. The lioneſs with her whelps for ſome time followed her footſteps, ſhewing all the ſame marks of regret and affliction, that a diſconſolate family expreſs when they attend a beloved father

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or ſon, who is going to embark for America, from whence he may never return.

THE commandant was informed of the whole adventure by his ſoldiers; and this example of gratitude in an animal ſo ferocious, awakened in him thoſe feelings, which his ſavage heart had undoubtedly loſt in croſſing the ſeas, and he ſuffered a woman to live, who had been ſo viſibly protected by heaven.

DURING this interval, the Indians, who continued to ſurround the Spaniſh colony with an intent to ſtarve it, confined it more and more within its intrenchments. To return to Europe ſeemed to be the only means left to prevent the great diſtreſs that was coming on; but the Spaniards were prepoſſeſſed with the notion that the inland country was full of mines, and this belief made them perſevere. They abandoned Buenos Ayres, and founded the iſland of Aſſumption, three hundred leagues up the country, but ſtill on the banks of the ſame river. By this change, they evidently removed further from the aſſiſtance of the mother country, but they imagined it brought them nearer the ſource of riches; and their avidity was ſtill greater than their foreſight.

THE wild inhabitants of a country nearer the tropic, were leſs courageous than thoſe of Buenos Ayres, or more eaſily civilized. Far from moleſting the Spaniards, they ſupplied them with proviſions. This behaviour induced the Spaniards to think that there was a poſſibility of ſecuring their

their friendſhip, if they could be prevailed upon to embrace chriſtianity; and it was imagined that the moſt effectual method of accompliſhing this, was to inſpire them with a great idea of that religion. For this purpoſe a proceſſion was contrived for feſtival days, in which, after the cuſtom of the mother country, all the coloniſts were to appear with their ſhoulders bare, and the inſtruments of flagellation in their hands. The Indians were invited to this horrid ſcene, not unlike that which was diſplayed by the fanaticiſm of the Corybantes, and more fit to inſpire an abhorrence for chriſtianity than to recommend it. They came to the number of eight thouſand men, armed with their bows and arrows, which they conſtantly took with them, to behold this barbarous ſolemnity, and fully reſolved to maſſacre theſe ſtrangers, ſince a religion that required them to ſhed their own blood, muſt certainly make them ſavage and cruel.



THE moment that the cataſtrophe was drawing near, Irala was informed by an Indian ſervant of ſo unexpected a plot. The Spaniſh general gave out that the Topiges, enemies to the whole country, were advancing to attack the place. He commanded all his troops to take up arms, and called the Indian chiefs together, to deliberate on the common danger that threatened their nation as well as his own. As ſoon as theſe men were in the power of the Spaniards, Irala put them to death, and threatened the Indians who had attended them with

BOOK VIII. with the ſame fate. Theſe unhappy men fell on their knees, implored mercy, and only obtained it on ſwearing eternal and unlimited obedience, for themſelves and their whole nation. The reconciliation was ratified by the marriage of ſome Indian women with Spaniards, a ceremony far more pleaſing to heaven and earth, than that proceſſion of flagellants that would have been concluded by a maſſacre. From the union of two ſuch different nations, ſprang the race of the Meſtees, now ſo common in South America. Thus it is the fate of the Spaniards, in all parts of the world, to be a mixed race. That of the Moors, ſtill flows in their veins in Europe, and that of the ſavages, in America. Perhaps, this mixture may be of advantage, if it be a fact that men, as well as animals are improved by croſſing the breed. It were indeed to be wiſhed that the various races of mankind were loſt in one, that there might be an end of thoſe national antipathies, which only ſerve to perpetuate the calamities of war and all the ſeveral paſſions that deſtroy the human ſpecies. But diſcord ſeems to ariſe of itſelf between brothers, can it therefore be expected that all mankind ſhould become one family, the children of which, ſprung as it were from the ſame common parent, ſhould no longer thirſt after each other's blood? For is not this fatal thirſt excited and kept up by that of gold?

It was this ſhameful paſſion, this ſavage avidity, which induced the Spaniards to keep ſtill further

further from the sea, and nearer the mountains; nor did they become wiser or more humane, by the danger they had exposed themselves to in advancing so far into the country, of being all destroyed by the savages. They seemed, by the cruelties they exercised upon the Indians, to punish them for their own obstinacy in searching for gold where there was none. Several ships which were bringing them troops and ammunition, were lost, with all they had on board, by venturing too far up the river; but even this circumstance could not prevent them from obstinately persisting in their avaritious views, though they had been disappointed in them: till they were compelled by repeated orders from the mother country to re-establish Buenos Ayres. This necessary undertaking was now become easy. The Spaniards, who had multiplied in Paraguay, were strong enough to restrain or destroy the nations that might oppose them. Accordingly, as it had been expected, they met with little difficulty. Juan Ortiz de Zarate executed it in 1580, and rebuilt Buenos Ayres upon the same spot, which had been forsaken for forty years. The petty nations that lived in the neighbourhood, submitted to the yoke, or fled to distant parts to enjoy their freedom.

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Present situation of the Spaniards in Paraguay.

As soon as the colony had gained some degree of strength, it began to flourish; and in process of time four great provinces were formed, the Tucuman, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Paraguay proper,

BOOK VIII. proper, and Rio de la Plata. Throughout this immenſe tract, there are but twelve towns, ſcattered in different parts, which in Europe would be reckoned only ſmall market towns. They conſiſt of a few houſes or huts, irregularly diſpoſed, and parted by little woods or groves, ſo that every houſe looks like a ſingle plantation. Some ſmall villages of conquered Indians are to be ſeen all round the country. The reſt of it is entirely a wilderneſs, or inhabited by independent ſavages. Their rage againſt thoſe who have forced them to fly to inacceſſible mountains is inconceivable. They are continually ſallying out from theſe retreats, excited by the hopes of deſtroying ſome of their tyrants. Theſe inroads prevent all communication between the Spaniſh ſettlements.

EVEN the capital of the colony labours under ſome inconveniences that are totally deſtructive of trade. Buenos Ayres has indeed ſome advantages. The ſituation is healthy and pleaſant, and the air temperate. The country preſents an agreeable appearance, and would be fertile, if proper care were taken to cultivate it. The buildings, which forty years ago were all compoſed of earth, are more ſolid and commodious, ſince the natives have learned the art of making brick and lime. The population amounts to 16,000 ſouls, and the white people may be about a quarter of the number. One ſide of the town is defended by a fortreſs, with a garriſon of a thouſand men: and the reſt is ſurrounded by the river. Theſe precautions

cautions are extremely proper, but inadequate to the end propoſed. BOOK VIII.

The town ſtands ſeventy leagues from the ſea. Large ſhips cannot come up to it, and the ſmalleſt veſſels run great riſques in ſailing up a river that wants depth, is full of iſlands, ſhoals and rocks, and where ſtorms are more frequent and more dreadful than on the ocean. It is neceſſary to anchor every night on the ſpot they come to; and on the moſt moderate days, a pilot muſt go before in a boat to ſound the way for the ſhip. There is ſome danger even in the harbour, which is within three leagues of the town. Though the precaution is taken to caſt all the anchors from the ſhips, and to ſecure their cables with ſtrong iron chains, they are in danger of being ſunk by a furious wind, which comes from the frontiers of Chili, and, as it meets with nothing to check its progreſs over a plain of three hundred leagues, grows ſtill more impetuous as it enters the channel of the river.

If the Spaniards had not formed moſt of their American ſettlements by chance, they would have fixed upon the port of Inſenada, or that of Baragon, at the entrance of the river Plata, to the weſt, or that of Maldonado, that lies on the ſame line to the eaſt. The frequent accidents that have happened on the river, and other political reaſons, have at length convinced the court of Madrid of the improper ſituation of Buenos Ayres, and in 1726, they built a citadel forty leagues lower, at Monte

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Monte Video, flanked with four baſtions, and defended by a numerous artillery, and a garriſon of two hundred men. They afterwards found that this harbour was only fit for ſmall veſſels, and therefore removed to Maldonado, where the fortifications, as well as thoſe of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, were built by the Guaranis, who were never rewarded for this labour. Its natural ſituation renders it one of the fineſt harbours in the world. It is large enough to contain the moſt numerous fleet; and the entrance which is extremely narrow, is very eaſily defended. The air is excellent, there is plenty of wood, and the ſoil is very fertile. When once the natives, who are a reſolute, warlike and robuſt people, are ſubdued, and when the families which are gradually removed thither from the Canary iſlands, have improved the lands, the ſettlement will have acquired the higheſt degree of perfection. The ſhips that are ſailing from Europe to the South ſeas, will find there a ſafe harbour, and all the refreſhments they may want. In time it will become the natural ſtaple for the trade of Paraguay; and may ſtill be improved, when the Spaniards ſhall have adopted better principles of government. At preſent it is not very conſiderable.

Trade of Paraguay.

THE richeſt produce that is peculiar to that continent, is the herb of Paraguay. It is the leaf of a middle-ſized tree. The taſte is ſimilar to that of mallows, and in ſhape reſembles an orange tree. It is divided into three claſſes. The

firſt,

firſt, called *caacuys*, is the bud when it juſt begins to unfold its leaves. It is far ſuperior to the other two, but will not keep ſo long, and it is therefore difficult to export it to any diſtance. The next, which is called *caamini*, is the full grown leaf ſtripped of its ſtalks. If theſe are left on, it is called *caaguaza*, which is the third ſort. The leaves are firſt roaſted, and then kept in pits digged in the ground, and covered with bulls hides.

The mountains of Maracayu, at the eaſt ſide of Paraguay, furniſh the herb that is moſt eſteemed. The tree does not grow on the tops of the hills, but in the marſhy vallies that lie between them. The city of Aſſumption, which is called the capital of Paraguay, though in fact it is a very inconſiderable place, firſt brought this valuable plant, which had always been the delight of the ſavages, into repute in diſtant countries. The exportation of it at firſt procured conſiderable riches to the town. But this advantage was not of long continuance, for all the Indians of that diſtrict were loſt in the long voyage they were obliged to take. The whole country became a deſert for forty leagues round the city, and the inhabitants were obliged to give up this trade which was the only ſource of their wealth.

The new Villa Rica, a ſettlement formed near Maracayu, engroſſed this branch of trade, but was ſoon obliged to ſhare it with the Guaranis, who at firſt gathered the herb only for their own uſe, but ſoon began to ſell it. This employment,

added

BOOK VIII. added to the neceſſity of undertaking a voyage which, including the return, comprehended four hundred leagues, kept the Guaranis abſent from their habitations for a conſiderable part of the year. During this interval, as they were deprived of inſtruction, they grew indifferent to religion, and unconnected with the colony. Many of them periſhed by change of air and fatigue. Some grew weary of this laborious employment, and retired into the woods, where they reſumed their former way of life. Beſides, the villages having no men to defend them, lay expoſed to the inroads of the enemy. To obviate theſe inconveniences, the miſſionaries procured ſeeds from Maracayu, and ſowed them in thoſe parts of the land that were moſt analagous to the ſoil of the mountains. The trees which have ſprung from them have greatly multiplied, and have not degenerated at leaſt in any ſenſible degree.

THE produce of theſe plantations, added to that which grows ſpontaneouſly, is very conſiderable. Some is conſumed in Paraguay, and Chili and Peru purchaſe annually to the amount of 100,000 arrobes, which, at the rate of 23 livres 12 ſous, 6 deniers *, make an article of exportation of 2,362,500 livres. †

THIS herb, which the Spaniards of South America recommend as a preſervative againſt moſt diſeaſes, is in general uſe throughout this part of the new world. It is dried and reduced almoſt to powder,

* Near one guinea. † About 103,360 l.

powder, then put into a cup with ſugar, lemon-juice, and ſweet-ſcented paſte; boiling water is afterwards thrown upon it, and it is drunk off directly before it has time to turn black.

THE herb of Paraguay is of no conſequence to Europe; but that country is valuable on other accounts, and in particular for the hides it ſends over. When the Spaniards forſook Buenos Ayres in 1538, they left in the neighbouring fields ſome horned cattle, which they had brought over from their own country. They multiplied to ſuch a degree in thoſe paſtures, that when the town was reeſtabliſhed, they were totally neglected. The method was afterwards adopted of knocking them on the head, merely for the ſake of their hides. The manner in which this is done deſerves to be mentioned.

A NUMBER of huntſmen on horſeback repair to ſuch places as are moſtly frequented by the wild bulls. Each huntſman purſues the bull he fixes upon, and hamſtrings him with a ſharp iron cut in the ſhape of a creſcent, and faſtened to a long handle. When the animal is overcome, the huntſman attacks others and diſables them in the ſame manner. After ſome days ſpent in this violent exerciſe, the huntſmen return in ſearch of the bulls they have diſabled, which they flay, carry away the hides, and ſometimes the tongues and the fat: the reſt they leave to be devoured by the vultures and other birds of prey.

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THE price of hides was ſo low at firſt, that they were ſcarce worth one livre ſix ſous * a-piece, though the buyers refuſed a great many becauſe they were not of the proper ſize; but the value of them has increaſed ſince the number of bulls has diminiſhed. This decreaſe is not ſo much to be attributed to the huntſmen as to the wild dogs. Theſe deſtructive animals make ſuch ravage among them, that the colony is in danger of loſing this lucrative branch of trade. The government of Buenos Ayres has endeavoured to prevent this misfortune, by ordering part of the garriſon out to deſtroy theſe dogs that are become ſo fierce. The ſoldiers, at their return from this neceſſary expedition, were treated with ſo much inſult and contempt, that they could not be prevailed upon to go out again upon an excurſion that expoſed them to the ridicule of their own countrymen.

THE deficiency in the article of hides, will be compenſated by tobacco, which is begun to be cultivated in Paraguay with ſucceſs. A conſiderable quantity is ſent over every year; as likewiſe vicuna wool, which comes from the mountains, and metals; all which productions are foreign to the colony.

THE firſt Spaniards who came to Paraguay, made no doubt but a country that lay ſo near Peru muſt contain great riches. They acted in conſequence of this perſuaſion, which was kept up for a whole century by ſome very trifling incidents. They

* About 1s. 1d. ½.

They found themſelves at length under a neceſſity of giving up this chimerical idea; but after it had long been diſbelieved, it was again revived to ſerve ſome private purpoſe. It is now generally known that Paraguay has no gold nor ſilver but what comes from Chili and Potoſi. Some of it circulates in the colony; a much greater quantity is ſmuggled into the Portugueſe ſettlements; and about five million* are ſhipped off every year from Buenos Ayres for the mother country.

Paraguay owes its fame to the ſettlements the Jeſuits had formed there.

Remarks on theſe ſettlements.

THE account we have given of the natural ſtate, the conſtitution, and the riches of Paraguay, does not ſeem calculated to inſpire any high idea of this colony. The attention that has conſtantly been paid to it has been owing to an eſtabliſhment formed in its center, which, after having long been a ſubject of diſpute, has at length met with the approbation of the wiſeſt men. The opinion we are to entertain of it, ſeems finally to be determined by philoſophy, before which ignorance, prejudice, and faction ſhould diſappear, as ſhades vaniſh before the light.

THE Jeſuits intruſted with the miſſions of Peru, being informed how the Incas governed their empire, and made their conqueſts, adopted their plan in the execution of a conſiderable project they had formed. The deſcendants of Manco Capac, marched to their frontiers with powerful armies, compoſed of ſoldiers who at leaſt knew how to obey, to fight, and to intrench themſelves; and who,



* 218,750l.

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together with better offenſive weapons than thoſe of the ſavages, had alſo ſhields and defenſive weapons, which their enemies had not. They propoſed to the nation which they wanted to unite to their government, to embrace their religion, laws, and manners, to quit their foreſts and to live in ſociety. They frequently met with oppoſition. Moſt of thoſe people perſiſted for a long time in defence of their prejudices and their liberty. The Incas then had recourſe to patience, and ſent freſh deputies, who again endeavoured to perſuade them. Sometimes thoſe deputies were murdered; at other times the ſavages fell upon the army of the Incas. But the latter fought with great courage, were always ſucceſsful, and ſuſpended the fight the inſtant they had gained the victory. If they took any priſoners, they treated them ſo kindly, that they willingly ſubmitted to the yoke of theſe humane conquerors, and endeavoured at their return to inſpire their nation with the ſame favourable opinion of them. A Peruvian army ſeldom begun the attack, and the Incas has often been known to forbear hoſtilities, even after he had experienced the perfidy of the barbarians, and ſeveral of his ſoldiers had been murdered.

THE Jeſuits, who had no army, confined themſelves to the arts of perſuaſion. They went into the foreſts to look for the ſavages, and prevailed upon them to renounce their old cuſtoms and prejudices, to embrace a religion which they did not under-

understand, and to enjoy the sweets of society, to which they were before strangers.

The Incas had another advantage over the Jesuits, which was, the nature of their religion, calculated to strike the senses. It is a more easy matter to persuade men to worship the sun which they see, than to adore an invisible God, and to believe doctrines and mysteries which they cannot comprehend. Accordingly the Jesuits have had the prudence to civilize the savages in some measure, before they attempted to convert them. They did not pretend to make them christians, till they had made them men. As soon as they had got them together, they began to procure them every advantage they had promised them, and induced them to embrace christianity, when, by making them happy, they had contributed to render them tractable.

They imitated the example of the Incas in the division of the lands into three shares; for religious purposes, for the public, and for individuals; they encouraged working for orphans, old people and soldiers; they rewarded great actions; they inspected or censured the morals of the people; they practised acts of benevolence; they established festivals, and intermixed them with laborious employments; they appointed military exercises, kept up a spirit of subordination, invented preservatives against idleness, and inspired them with respect for religion and the laws; they also reserved to themselves the political and religious au-

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thority: in a word, whatever was valuable in the legiſlation of the Incas, was adopted, or even improved upon at Paraguay.

THE Incas and the Jeſuits have alike eſtabliſhed ſuch a regularity and order, as prevents the commiſſion of crimes, and removes the neceſſity of puniſhment. There is hardly ſuch a thing as a delinquent in Paraguay. The morals of the people are good, and are maintained in this ſtate of purity by ſtill milder methods than are made uſe of in Peru. The laws were ſevere in that empire; they are not ſo among the Guaranis. Puniſhments are not dreaded there, and men fear nothing but the reproach of their own conſcience.

AFTER the example of the Incas, the Jeſuits have eſtabliſhed the theocratical government, with an additional advantage peculiar to the chriſtian religion, on which their government is founded: this is the practice of confeſſion, which is of infinite utility, while thoſe who introduced it ſhall not make an improper uſe of it. This alone anſwers the end of penal laws, and maintains a purity of manners. In Paraguay, religion, which by means of opinion exerts its authority in a more powerful manner than compulſion can, brings the guilty perſon to the feet of the magiſtrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorſe makes him rather aggravate it; and inſtead of endeavouring to elude his puniſhment, he implores it on his knees. The more public and ſevere it is, the more doth it contribute to quiet the conſcience of the criminal.

criminal. By these means, punishment, which in all other places is the terror of the guilty, is here considered as a source of consolation to them, as it stifles the pangs of remorse by the expiation of the guilt. The people of Paraguay have no civil laws, because they know of no property; nor have they any criminal ones, because every one is his own accuser, and voluntarily submits to punishment: their only laws are the precepts of religion. Theocracy would be the most excellent of all governments, if it were possible to preserve it in its purity; but to effect this, it would be necessary that it should always be under the direction of virtuous men, deeply impressed with the real principles on which it is founded; it would be necessary that religion should teach nothing but the duties of society; that it should consider nothing as a crime but what violates the natural rights of mankind; that its precepts should not substitute prayers in lieu of labour, vain ceremonies instead of works of charity, or imaginary scruples to just remorse.



But it can hardly be expected that Jesuits born in Spain or Italy should not have transmitted to Paraguay the monastic notions and practices of Rome or Madrid. However, if they have introduced some abuses, it must be confessed it has been with such peculiar advantages, that, perhaps, it is impossible to do so much good to men any where else, with so little injury.

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THERE are more arts and conveniences in the republics of the Jeſuits than there had been even in Cuſco itſelf, without more luxury. The uſe of coin is unknown there. The watchmaker, weaver, lockſmith and taylor all depoſit their works in public warehouſes. They are ſupplied with every neceſſary of life; as the huſbandman has laboured for them. The Jeſuits, aſſiſted by magiſtrates who are choſen by the people, attend to the ſeveral wants of the whole community.

THERE is no diſtinction of ſtations; and it is the only ſociety on earth where men enjoy that equality which is the ſecond of all bleſſings; for liberty is undoubtedly the firſt.

THE Incas and the Jeſuits have both inſpired men with a reverence for religion, by the dazzling pomp of external ceremonies. Nothing could be compared to the magnificence and ſplendour of the temples of the ſun; and the churches in Paraguay are equal to the moſt elegant in Europe. The Jeſuits have made their worſhip pleaſing, without rendering it an indecent farce. The Indians are invited to reſort to church by muſic that awakens their ſenſibility, by affecting hymns, by lively paintings, and by the pomp of ceremonies; ſo that pleaſure is here blended with the exerciſes of piety. It is here that religion is amiable, and that the people firſt love it in its miniſters. Nothing can equal the purity of manners, the mild and tender zeal, and the paternal kindneſs of the Jeſuits of Paraguay. Every paſtor is truly the father,

father, as he is the guide of his parishioners. His authority is not felt, because he commands, forbids, and punishes nothing, but what is commanded, forbidden, and punished by the religion they all reverence and love, equally with himself.



It should seem that men must have multiplied considerably under a government where none are idle, or fatigued with labour; where the food is equal in wholesomeness, plenty, and quality for all the citizens; where every one is conveniently lodged and well clothed; where the aged, and the sick, the widows and orphans, are assisted in a manner unknown in all other parts of the world; where every one marries from choice and not from interest, and where a number of children is considered as a blessing, and can never be burdensome: where debauch, the necessary consequence of idleness, which equally corrupts the opulent and the poor, never hastens the period of natural infirmities, or tends to abridge the term of human life; where nothing serves to excite artificial passions, or contradicts those that are regulated by nature and reason; where the people enjoy the advantages of trade, and are not exposed to the contagion of vice and luxury; where plentiful magazines, and a friendly intercourse between nations united in the bonds of the same religion, are a security against any scarcity that might happen from the inconstancy or inclemency of the seasons; where public justice has never been reduced to the cruel necessity of condemning a single malefactor

to

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to death, to disgrace, or to any punishment of a long duration; where the very names of a tax or a law suit, those two terrible scourges which every where else afflict mankind, are unknown; such a country must naturally be expected to be the most populous in the world; and yet it is far from being so.

This empire, which began in the year 1610, extends from the river Parana, which runs into the Paragua under the 27th degree of south latitude, to the Uragua that falls into the same river towards the 34th degree. On the banks of those two great rivers, which descend from the mountains near Brazil, in the fertile plains that lie between them, the Jesuits had already, in 1676, settled twenty-two villages; though no account has been given of their degree of population. In 1702, there were twenty-nine, consisting in all of 22,761 families, which amounted to 89,491 souls. The habitations and inhabitants have increased since, and the whole may now comprehend 200,000.

These religious legislators have long been suspected of concealing the number of their subjects with a view of defrauding Spain of the tribute they had submitted to pay; and the court of Madrid has discovered some anxiety on that account. An exact inquiry has dispelled those injurious and ill-grounded suspicions. Can it with any probability be supposed, that a society ever jealous of its honour, should for a mean and low interest

sacrifice

ſacrifice a ſenſe of greatneſs, adequate to the majeſty of an eſtabliſhment they were forming with ſo much care and pains?

THOSE who were too well acquainted with the genius of the ſociety, to charge it with ſuch injurious and illiberal accuſations, have pretended that the number of the Guaranis did not increaſe, becauſe they periſhed by working in the mines. This accuſation, urged above a hundred years ago, has been propagated by the ſame ſpirit of avarice, envy and malignity, that firſt invented it. The greater pains the Spaniſh miniſtry have employed in ſearch of theſe hidden treaſures, the more they have been convinced that they were all chimerical. If the Jeſuits had diſcovered any mines, they certainly would have taken care to conceal the diſcovery, which if known would have introduced every kind of vice; and thus their empire would ſoon have been ſubverted, and their power totally deſtroyed.

OTHERS are of opinion that the oppreſſion of monkiſh government muſt have checked the population of the Guaranis. But this is hardly reconcileable with that implicit confidence, and that extraordinary degree of attachment the Guaranis are ſaid to have for the miſſionaries who govern them. Oppreſſion conſiſts in impoſing labour and exacting tribute by compulſion; in arbitrary levies of men or money to ſupply armies and fleets, deſtined for deſtruction; in the violent execution of laws made without the conſent of the people, and

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and contrary to the remonſtrances of the magiſtrates; in the violation of public, and the eſtabliſhment of private privilege; in the inconſiſtency of the principles of an authority, which under pretence of being founded by divine will on the right of the ſword, lays claim to every thing by the one, and commands every thing by the other; which makes uſe of force to eſtabliſh religion, and of religion to influence the deciſions of juſtice: this is oppreſſion. But it can never exiſt, where every action is the reſult of voluntary ſubmiſſion, and proceeds from inclination founded on conviction, and where nothing is done but from choice, and full approbation. This is that gentle ſway of opinion, the only one, perhaps, that it is lawful for one man to exerciſe over another, becauſe it makes thoſe people happy who ſubmit to it. Such undoubtedly is that of the Jeſuits in Paraguay, ſince whole nations have voluntarily incorporated themſelves into their government, and none have ever thrown off the yoke. It cannot be pretended that fifty Jeſuits have been able to compel two hundred thouſand Indians to be their ſlaves, who had it in their power either to maſſacre their prieſts, or to take refuge in the deſerts. This ſtrange paradox would never be admitted by men of the moſt ſanguine or moſt credulous diſpoſition.

Some have ſuſpected that the Jeſuits had propagated that love of celibacy amongſt their people, which was ſo prevalent in Europe in the dark ages

ages of ignorance, and is not yet entirely eradi- BOOK
cated, notwithſtanding it has conſtantly been urged VIII.
how contrary it is to nature, reaſon and ſociety.
But this opinion is entirely without foundation.
The miſſionaries have never even given any idea
to their converts of a ſuperſtition which was to-
tally improper and inconſiſtent with the climate;
and would have been ſufficient to prejudice them
againſt their beſt inſtitutions, or to defeat the de-
ſign of them.

Politicians have further endeavoured to account for the want of population among the Guaranis, from their having no property. The idea under which we conſider property, namely as a ſource of the increaſe both of men and ſubſiſtence, is an unqueſtionable truth; but ſuch is the fate of the beſt inſtitutions, that our political errors will often endanger them. Under the law of property, when it is attended with avarice, ambition, luxury, a multitude of imaginary wants, and various other irregularities ariſing from the imperfections of our goverments; the bounds of our poſſeſſions, either too confined, or too extended, prevent at the ſame time both the fertility of our lands and the increaſe of our ſpecies. Theſe inconveniencies exiſt not in Paraguay. All are ſure of ſubſiſtence; conſequently all enjoy the great advantages of property, though deprived in a ſtrict ſenſe of the right to it. This privation cannot juſtly be conſidered as the reaſon that has impeded the progreſs

of

BOOK VIII. of population among them; but it muſt be imputed to other cauſes.

FIRST, the Portugueſe of St. Paul, in 1631, deſtroyed twelve or thirteen communities in the province of Guayra, the neareſt to Brazil. The greateſt part of the 97,000 Indians who lived there, periſhed by the ſword, or in ſlavery, or with hunger in the foreſts. Only 12,000 eſcaped, who fled for ſafety to other parts further diſtant from the Portugueſe.

THIS deſtruction, the effects of which it would have required a number of ages to repair, has been ſucceeded by gradual and continual loſſes. The ſavage nations that hovered about the habitations of the Guaranis, to carry off their proviſions, inhumanly maſſacred all thoſe who oppoſed them.

THESE calamities have been followed by another far more dreadful. The Europeans brought the ſmall-pox amongſt the Guaranis, and that diſtemper is more fatal in Paraguay than any other country in the world. It deſtroys thouſands in a very ſhort time, and ſcarce any recover of it. It is a matter of aſtoniſhment that the Jeſuits, who could not be ignorant of the ſalutary effects inoculation had been attended with on the banks of the Amazon, ſhould perſiſt in neglecting ſo ſafe and eaſy a method of ſaving the lives of their converts. It can ſcarce be ſuppoſed that legiſlators ſo enlightened could be prejudiced by the ridiculous objections of ſome ignorant divines, againſt a practice

practice ſo univerſally authoriſed by its great ſucceſs. BOOK VIII.

BESIDE theſe cauſes of depopulation, the Guaranis are expoſed to others ariſing from the nature of their climate, which occaſions contagious diſtempers, eſpecially on the banks of the Parana, where thick and conſtant fogs, under a ſultry ſky, render the air damp and unwholeſome. The Guaranis are the leſs able to reſiſt the malignancy of theſe vapours, as they feed very plentifully, though they live in a hot country. They eat their fruit green, and their meat almoſt raw; this occaſions a bad digeſtion, vicious humours, and diſorders which they tranſmit to their poſterity. The maſs of blood being thus corrupted by the uſe of improper food and the influence of a noxious air, cannot poſſibly produce a numerous and long-lived offspring.

THE Chiquitos, though their ſituation is further advanced into the torrid zone, are much ſtronger than the Guaranis, who live nearer the tropic and beyond it. Under the name of Chiquitos are included many ſmall nations, diſperſed in a tract of country that extends from the 14th to the 21ſt degree of ſouth latitude. It is hot, hilly and fruitful; and interſected on the weſt ſide by three rivers, which all meet and take the name of Madera; and this at laſt falls into the great river of the Amazons.

THE firſt conquerors of Peru were acquainted with the Chiquitos, but could not ſubdue them; and

BOOK VIII. and their ſucceſſors have in vain attempted it. In 1692, the Jeſuits formed the project of executing what could never be effected by force. This alarmed the Spaniards of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, who derived conſiderable advantages from the excurſions they made into thoſe countries, in order to carry off ſlaves, whom they ſold at a very high price, to be employed in the mines of Potoſi, and other works. They knew that the miſſionaries, who, either from motives of religion or ambition, had very different views and maxims, would never ſuffer their converts to be oppreſſed, and that they would be able to prevent it. Their labours were obſtructed by artifice, by violence, by calumny, and all the means that ſavage rapaciouſneſs could invent; but their conſtancy got the better of all oppoſition, and the plan was completed on the principles upon which it was originally formed.

In the year 1726, there were ſix large communities among the Chiquitos, at a pretty conſiderable diſtance from each other, and parted by immenſe foreſts. The population exceeded 40,000 ſouls. Their number has continually increaſed, and was almoſt double in 1746, when the new republic ſubmitted to the dominion of Spain, on the ſame terms as the Guaranis had done before, whoſe example they cloſely followed.

Both theſe ſtates have raiſed an inſurmountable barrier between them and the Spaniards. Both have eſtabliſhed a community of goods. Trade is here carried on by the whole commonwealth.

Their

Their manufactures and their agriculture are the same. Sugar, tobacco, cotton, fruits, the natural corn of the country, as well as the various sorts that grow in Europe, are cultivated in all parts of the country. Moſt of our animals have multiplied there, and the cows and horſes have not degenerated. The only difference between the two nations is, that the Chiquitos are ſtronger, more temperate, more aſſiduous, more active, and more laborious than the Guaranis. In all theſe reſpects they equally ſurpaſs the Mojes. BOOK VIII.

THE Mojes live in the 12th degree of ſouth latitude. To the eaſt, their country is parted from Peru by the Cordeleras. To the ſouth, it is not far from Paraguay. To the north and weſt are unknown lands. About the year 1670, a Spaniſh Jeſuit, named Baraza, a man of great ſenſiblity, ſpirit, and reſolution, was touched with compaſſion for theſe poor ſavages, who lived without agriculture, without religion, and without morals. He prevailed upon theſe men to quit their wandering way of life, and to ſettle in the country, and he governed them by the laws of the Guaranis. His labours and thoſe of his ſucceſſors had collected 30,000 ſouls at the beginning of this century. We have no accounts of the progreſs of this eſtabliſhment; but if we may judge by the length of time, and the pains that have been taken, we muſt ſuppoſe it to be very conſiderable.

THE Jeſuits were inceſſantly labouring to unite theſe three commonwealths, by civilizing the roving

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nations that are diſperſed throughout the intermediate deſerts; but their ſcheme, the execution of which was doubtful, or at leaſt very remote, was not conſiſtent with the ſordid views of the Spaniſh adventurers. Thoſe barbarous uſurpers of the new world, had been zealous in the cauſe of religion, as long as it furniſhed a pretence to ſhed blood for the purpoſe of obtaining gold; but they no longer attended to it, when it was deſigned only to humanize the ſavages, in order to make them happy. Thoſe deſtroyers conſidered the Americans who had eſcaped their fury, only as ſo many inſtruments to aſſiſt their intereſted views. After they had deprived them of their poſſeſſions, they reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery, and condemned them to work in the mines. But the Jeſuits found means to defeat their inſatiable avarice, and obtained from the government the freedom of all thoſe Indians, whom they could prevail upon to quit the foreſts and caverns they were uſed to retire to, and to live in ſociety. Theſe legiſlators ſoon found that this precaution was not a ſufficient ſecurity to their republic, and imagined that to give it a firm eſtabliſhment it was further neceſſary that the conquerors ſhould be excluded from interfering with them under any pretence whatſoever. They foreſaw that if they were admitted as traders, or even as mere travellers, they would aſſume a haughty and ſupercilious behaviour, would excite commotions, and occaſion diſſentions in thoſe peaceable retreats, and that their example

example would introduce vice and every ſpecies of corruption. Theſe dangerous men were the more offended at the precautions taken to prevent their deſigns, as thoſe meaſures were approved by the wiſe. In the height of their fury and reſentment, they ſpread every where the moſt odious imputations againſt the ſociety, which upon the ſlighteſt grounds were admitted as facts. BOOK VIII.

THE miſſionaries traded for the nation. They ſent the labours of their artificers, and the herb of Paraguay, to Buenos Ayres, and received money in exchange, out of which they firſt took up the tribute of five livres, 5 ſous,* which every man above eighteen and under fifty years of age paid to the king. The remainder was employed in the purchaſe of ſuch European goods as were wanted for the colony. This was the ground of the chief accuſations that were brought againſt the Jeſuits. They were univerſally traduced as a ſociety of merchants, who, under the veil of religion, attended only to their own ſordid intereſt.

IT muſt be confeſſed at leaſt, that the founders of the firſt inſtitution in Paraguay did not deſerve this cenſure. The deſerts through which they travelled, afforded neither gold nor mercantile commodities. In theſe they only met with foreſts, ſerpents, and moraſſes; ſometimes they periſhed, or were expoſed to the moſt ſevere torments, and always to exceſſive fatigue. The hardſhips they endured with ſo much patience, and the pains they



* About 4s. 7d.

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took to get to the ſavages, and induce them to quit their roving life, are far beyond what men of common abilities could have effected. They never entertained the idea of appropriating to themſelves the produce of a land, which their care only prevented from being a habitation of wild beaſts. Their ſucceſſors may poſſibly have been actuated by leſs laudable and diſintereſted motives; but if they have been of ſo mean a diſpoſition as to ſeek to increaſe their riches where they ought to have only ſought the glory of God and the good of mankind; if they have acquired lands and amaſſed treaſures in America, in order to become of conſequence in Europe, and to increaſe more generally their influence in the world; it is an ambition that has never affected the felicity of their converts. They have always enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity, and lived ſo happily that they had no reaſon to regret the want of property, which they had no notion of, nor of thoſe ſuperfluities of life which they did not want.

But thoſe who have not accuſed the Jeſuits of Paraguay of avarice, have cenſured their inſtitutions as being the effect of blind ſuperſtition. If our idea of ſuperſtition be the true one, it retards the progreſs of population; it devotes to uſeleſs ceremonies the time that ſhould be employed in the labours of ſociety; it deprives the laborious man of his property, to enrich the indolent and dangerous recluſe; it promotes diſcord and perſecution for things of little moment; it gives the

ſignal

ſignal for revolt in the name of God; it frees its miniſters from obedience to the laws, and from the duties of ſociety: in a word, it makes the people miſerable, and arms the wicked againſt the virtuous. But nothing of this nature is to be found in Paraguay; and if the happy inſtitutions of theſe chriſtians, who are unknown to the reſt of the world, are the effect of ſuperſtition, this is the only inſtance in which it ever was beneficial to mankind.

POLITICIANS, who are ever reſtleſs, becauſe they are ambitious, and who are apprehenſive of every thing becauſe their deſires are unbounded, ſuſpected with ſome greater reaſon, that the republics formed by the Jeſuits might one day aſpire to abſolute independence, and poſſibly attempt to overthrow the power under whoſe protection they had been raiſed. Thoſe men who were ſo humane, ſo perfectly united amongſt themſelves, and ſo aſſiduous in their labours, were alſo the beſt ſoldiers in America. They were well diſciplined, and obeyed from a principle of religion. They fought with the ſame zeal that brought the chriſtian martyrs to the ſcaffold, and the ſame enthuſiaſm that overthrew ſo many empires by the arms of the followers of Wodin and Mohammed. They were ſtill in that full vigour which ariſes from uncorrupted manners and laws; whereas the Spaniards in America, enervated by that indolence which is the conſequence of victory and cruelty, were no longer what they had been at the time of

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their conqueſts. The apprehenſions therefore that were entertained were not entirely imaginary or without foundation.

In thoſe governments which preceded the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity, and in moſt of them that did not admit it, civil and religious authority have always been united, as derived from the ſame ſource and tending to the ſame end; or the one has been ſo ſubſervient to the other, that the people could not venture to ſeparate them in idea, and were equally kept in awe by both. The wiſeſt lawgivers have always been convinced that religion, as it prepared the minds of the people to obedience, muſt ſecure them in the continuance of it. But in Europe, where chriſtianity roſe on the ruins of a barbarous religion and a great empire; a rivalſhip was immediately ſet up between thoſe two powers; a military and a religious rivalſhip which were both at the ſame time contending for dominion over the perſons and properties of men. When the barbarous nations of the north made incurſions upon the territories of the Roman empire, the chriſtians, perſecuted by the heathen emperors, implored the aſſiſtance of theſe foreign enemies, againſt the government that oppreſſed them. They preached to theſe conquerors a new ſyſtem of religion, which enjoined to them as a duty to extirpate the eſtabliſhed one; and they demanded the ruins of the temples to ſerve as materials for the building of churches. The ſavages freely diſpoſed of what was not their property; they

they ſacrificed to chriſtianity all its enemies and their own; they ſeized upon the perſons of men and upon their lands, and diſtributed ſome of them to the church. They demanded tribute, but exempted the clergy from it, becauſe they countenanced their uſurpations. Noblemen became prieſts, and prieſts obtained the rank of nobility. The great connected the privileges of their birth with that of the prieſthood which they embraced. The biſhops imprinted the ſeal of religion on the lands they poſſeſſed. From this mixture and confuſion of birth with high ſtations, of titles with eſtates, and of perſons with things, ſprang up a power, monſtrous from its origin, and which in proceſs of time became enormous; a power, which, from the firſt endeavoured to eſtabliſh itſelf as diſtinct from the only true and legal authority, which is, that of government; a power, which afterwards attempted even to raiſe itſelf above government, but having been unſucceſsful in the attempt, has ſince ſubmitted to ſeparate itſelf from it, and to exert its authority in ſecret over thoſe who were willing to acknowledge it. Theſe two powers are ſo different and inconſiſtent with each other, that they conſtantly diſturb the harmony of ſtates and empires.

The Jeſuits of Paraguay, who were well acquainted with this ſource of diviſion, have been warned by the miſchief their ſociety has ſometimes done in Europe, and have exerted themſelves to promote the real happineſs of America. They

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have united both powers in one, making every thing ſubordinate to religion; which gave them the entire diſpoſal of the thoughts, affections and faculties of their converts. The queſtion is, whether they did it for their own advantage, or for that of their ſubjects.

THE readineſs which theſe miſſionaries, on their being baniſhed by the court of Madrid, unexpectedly ſhewed to evacuate an empire which they could ſo eaſily have defended, has juſtified them, in the opinion of a great part of the public, from the imputation of ambition which their enemies have laid to their charge, and ſpread throughout all Europe. But philoſophy, which is ſuperior to vulgar prejudices, will ſuſpend its judgment of theſe legiſlators, till the conduct of the inhabitants of Paraguay affords a proof either in their favour or againſt them. If thoſe nations ſubmit to Spain, which has neither the right to oppoſe them, nor forces to enable her to do it, it will be ſaid that the Jeſuits had taken more pains to teach men obedience, than to give them juſt ideas of natural equity, which thoſe ſavages were already acquainted with in ſome degree; and that in availing themſelves of their ignorance to bend them to ſubmiſſion, though they may have made them more happy than they were before, yet they have reſerved to themſelves the power of rendering them one day or another the inſtruments of their own arbitrary will. But if theſe people, armed and diſciplined as they are, ſhould repulſe the barbarous oppreſſors

of

of their country; if they ſhould avenge thoſe immenſe regions of all the blood that Spain has ſhed; philoſophers will then ſay the Jeſuits have laboured for the happineſs of mankind with the diſintereſted ſpirit of virtue; that they have ruled over the inhabitants of Paraguay only to inſtruct them; that while they gave them a religion, they left them the fundamental notions of juſtice, which are the firſt precepts of true religion; and that they have chiefly impreſſed on their minds that principle which is the baſis of every lawful and permanent ſociety; that it is a crime for men collected together, to conſent to a form of government, which, by abridging them of the liberty of diſpoſing of their own fate, may one day make it their duty to commit crimes. Thus the tranquillity of Spaniſh America depends upon the opinions eſtabliſhed in Paraguay.

Invaſions to which Spaniſh America is expoſed. Methods of preventing them.

INDEPENDENT of this danger, which may be conſidered as a domeſtic concern, Spaniſh America always ſtands expoſed to foreign invaſions, eſpecially from the South Sea. It was long thought to be ſecure on that ſide, conſidering the diſtance, the hazards of navigation, and how little thoſe ſeas were known. The Dutch, who did not think this coaſt of America ſo inacceſſible, ſent a ſmall ſquadron thither in 1643, which eaſily took Baldivia, the chief port of Chili, and the key to thoſe peaceful ſeas. They already poſſeſſed in imagination the treaſures of thoſe rich provinces, till their expectations were diſappointed by the appearance

BOOK VIII. pearance of famine and diſeaſe. The death of their chief increaſed their anxiety, and the troops that were ſent againſt them from Peru threw them into total deſpair. The idea of the diſtance they were at from their native country, deprived them of all their courage, and the fear of falling into the hands of a nation whoſe hatred they had ſo often experienced, determined them to re-imbark. If their perſeverance had been greater, they would probably have preſerved their conqueſts till the arrival of the ſuccours that would have been ſent from the Zuyder-zee, when their firſt ſucceſs came to be known.

Such was the opinion of thoſe Frenchmen, who, in 1698 united their riches and efforts in forming a ſettlement in the ſtreights of Magellan, and on that part of the coaſt of Chili which had been neglected by the Spaniards. This ſcheme was approved by Lewis XIV, who gave it the ſanction of public authority. The connections which were ſoon after accidentally formed between this prince and the conquerors of America, prevented the execution of a project, which was more extenſive than it appeared to be.

The Engliſh had not waited for the example ſet them by Holland and France, to turn their attention to the South Sea. They were invited by the mines as early as the year 1624, but the weakneſs of the prince who then reigned, proved the ruin of a conſiderable aſſociation formed for this great purpoſe. Charles II. reſumed this important

tant project, and sent Sir John Narborough to re- BOOK
connoitre those latitudes that were so little known, VIII.
and to endeavour to open some communication
with the nations of Chili. That monarch was so impatient to know the success of the expedition, that when he was informed of the return of his admiral to the downs, he got into his barge, and went to meet him at Gravesend. Though this first attempt had been of no advantage, the ministry were not discouraged. They formed the South Sea company in 1710, who found it more convenient, or perhaps more humane, to secure to themselves by trade the riches of the countries granted to them, than to make conquests. They were acquiring riches with little difficulty, when a fatal war changed the nature of things. A squadron, under the command of Anson, was sent instead of the ships of those rapacious merchants who frequented these seas. It is probable he would have executed the whole of his commission, had he not been prevented by the misfortunes that befel his squadron, which, from ill-concerted measures at first, was under a necessity of doubling Cape Horn at an improper and dangerous season. Since the year 1764, England is peaceably endeavouring to form a settlement in the South Seas. The English admirals have already discovered several populous islands. Time will shew what use they may be of, and how far they may be serviceable in hastening some revolution.

AMBI-

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Ambition cannot be satisfied with such slow advances. But if the generous and lawful desire of delivering half the continent of America from the Spanish yoke, and an emulation to share its riches by trade and industry; if such exalted views should be joined to those motives of interest which occasion contests and kindle war among nations, it would be no difficult matter, by pursuing the plan laid down by Anson, to deprive Spain at once of all her American possessions beyond the southern tropic. Twelve men of war, sent from Europe with three or four thousand troops, might securely make this attempt. They would immediately procure refreshments at the Brazils, at Rio Janeiro, at St. Catherine's, and at all the Portuguese settlements, which are nearly interested in humbling the Spaniards. If these ships should afterwards stand in need of some repairs, they might be done with safety upon the desert and uninhabitable coast of Patagonia, at Port Desire or at St. Julian. They would double Cape Horn in December and January, seasons of the year when those seas are as little exposed to storms as any others. If they should chance to separate, they would meet again at the desert island of Socoro, and then attack Baldivia with their united force.

This place is less formidable than it appears. The fortifications indeed are considerable, but they are out of repair. There are a hundred pieces of cannon, but few have carriages fit for use. They are never provided with stores or ammunition to stand

ſtand a ſiege. If an attentive adminiſtration, a thing unknown in that country, ſhould remedy theſe diſorders, it would ſtill make but little reſiſtance. A garriſon conſiſting of officers and ſoldiers rendered infamous by their crimes, and by the baniſhment to which they are condemned, would always be deficient in that ſpirit of honour, experience and abilities neceſſary to make a vigorous defence. The conquerors would find a ſafe harbour, excellent timber, hemp, corn, and all the conveniences they could wiſh after a long paſſage. The troops, who would ſoon recover in ſo healthy and plentiful a country, would attack the reſt of Chili with great advantage.



This kingdom, which was formerly defended by two thouſand men, has now only five hundred troops, half of which are cavalry, and the other half infantry. All the Spaniards, indeed, capable of bearing arms, and formed into companies, are obliged to join the army; but what reſiſtance could theſe enervated and inexperienced citizens make againſt well-diſciplined troops, inured to all the fatigues of war? Yet this is not the only circumſtance. The Araucos and their friends would no ſooner hear of this revolution, but they would take the field without being called upon. Their cruelty is ſo well known, that the Spaniards would exert all their efforts againſt theſe barbarians, and would relinquiſh all thoughts of oppoſing the enterpriſes of the Europeans.

The

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The coaſt of Peru would make ſtill leſs reſiſtance. Callao, the only fortified place, has only a garriſon of ſix hundred men. The reduction of this port would open the way to Lima, which is no more than two leagues off, and incapable of making any defence. The ſuccours that might be ſent from the inland parts, where there are no ſoldiers, would not ſave the place; and the enemies ſquadron would intercept any that might come from Panama by ſea. Panama itſelf, which is ſurrounded only by a wall, without a ditch or any outworks, would ſoon be obliged to ſurrender: the garriſon, continually weakened by detachments it muſt ſend to defend Darien, Chagre and Porto-Bello, would be unable to repulſe a vigorous attack.

It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that the enemy, though maſter of the ſea-coaſt, would not on that account be in poſſeſſion of all Peru. There is certainly a very eſſential difference between the taking of two inconſiderable places and the conqueſt of ſo vaſt an empire. If we conſider, however, the bad diſpoſitions of the Indians, the diſcontent of the Creoles, their ſloth, their want of experience, and their ignorance of the art of war; a great revolution may not be ſo improbable as it appears to be at the firſt view. The nation that ſhould attack the Spaniards, would have little leſs advantage over them, than they themſelves had over the Americans when they firſt diſcovered them. But if the Jeſuits, actuated by that ſpirit of

of ambition they are accuſed of, and that reſentment which religion itſelf cannot have extinguiſhed in their hearts, ſhould join with the enemies of their perſecutors, and introduce them to a people who muſt ſtill retain an affection for them; how eaſily might they not engage all the inhabitants of Paraguay to revolt, and ſtir up a war of all America againſt Spain! What a triumph for that ſociety, for thoſe men who are ſaid to be ſo artful, and ſo zealous in all their ſecret intrigues, if they could in their turn expel from America that nation, which has driven them out of all its dominions!

But admitting that the ſucceſs of the conqueror ſhould be confined to the taking of Callao and Panama, Spain would even then be deprived of all the treaſures of the South ſeas. To regain this advantage, the Spaniards would be obliged to make conſiderable armaments; which muſt fail without being intercepted, and muſt go round cape Horn, or through the ſtreights of Magellan. They muſt then, without having a harbour where their ſhips might be refitted and take in refreſhments, engage with a ſquadron that had been ſupplied with every neceſſary from the iſthmus of Panama: and if they ſhould gain the victory, they muſt afterwards be ſtrong enough to beſiege and make themſelves maſters of two places that would be well defended. Theſe are difficulties not eaſily ſurmounted.

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But, without executing this plan in its full extent, the navigation of the South ſeas might ſtill be intercepted: this may be effected if only two ſtrong men of war can get thither undiſcovered. By cruiſing to the north and ſouth of Lima, where all the trade of the country is united as in one common center, no veſſel can arrive or come out from thence without being obſerved. The ſhips which, on account of the winds and currents, muſt always keep in the ſame line, muſt neceſſarily come under the enemy's ſails. When merchants, warned by the conſiderable loſſes they have ſuſtained in trade, abſtain from ſending any more ſhips, there is, indeed, an end of captures; but if the officers, more firmly attached to their country than to their own private intereſt, ſhould notwithſtanding this ſtill remain in their ſtation, Spain will equally be deprived of all its advantages.

All theſe misfortunes, which may not be far off, conſidering the boldneſs of navigators, and the late diſcoveries made by the Engliſh in the South Seas, can only be prevented by a ſtrong ſquadron conſtantly ſtationed there. The Spaniards, who are in need of ſuch a ſupport, have all the materials in their power neceſſary to procure it: theſe are to be found in the South ſea, and are adapted to the climate. It muſt be granted that the crews, compoſed in a great meaſure of Indians or negroes, will never be equal to the European ſailors; but if they are carefully exerciſed, accuſtomed to bear the fatigues of the ſea, to fire,

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to work the ſhip, and well trained to diſcipline, they will be able to encounter men who are ſpent with the fatigues of a long navigation, a hot climate, ſickneſs and bad proviſions, and who have no place where they can procure refreſhments, in thoſe remote latitudes. We may even venture to affirm, that if the Spaniards could once gain the affection of the Indians, and reconcile them to their dominion, and if they could train them up to navigation with ſuch a naval force as we have been mentioning for the South ſea, no nation on earth would dare to ſhew its flag in thoſe latitudes. BOOK VIII.

But even ſuppoſing this is not to be expected, it would ſtill be neceſſary to have a ſquadron always in readineſs, and keep it conſtantly in motion, though it ſhould only be required againſt the enemy in time of war. This ſquadron at its leiſure might be uſefully employed in procuring along the coaſt proviſions which are loſt for want of opportunities and means of exporting them. This would probably awaken the coloniſts out of that lethargy into which they have been ſunk for theſe two centuries. As ſoon as they were aſſured that they could convey their produce to Panama without any charges, and from thence down the Chagre at a moderate expence, to be ſhipped off for Europe; they would chearfully follow thoſe labours of which they would be certain to reap the benefit. Their ſpirit of emulation might in time increaſe ſo much as to induce the miniſtry to

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have a canal cut, five leagues in length, which would compleat the communication between the two oceans, that is already so far advanced by a navigable river. The government would consequently share with the people the advantages that would arise from the execution of this scheme; unless the Spaniards think it their interest to keep the isthmus of Panama shut up, as the Caliphs of old, who would not open the isthmus of Suez. The general welfare of nations and the interest of commerce, strongly urge the necessity of making these two openings, to facilitate a speedy intercourse between the several nations. The arbitrary power of eastern princes, and the indolence of the Spaniards, oppose the freedom of trade, and reject that spirit of social equality, with which they are unacquainted. They chuse rather to reduce the people of one part of the globe that abounds in riches, to famine, and let those of the other perish in want and slavery, than to share the earth and its treasures with all its inhabitants. But perhaps, the court of Madrid apprehends that if this communication were opened, Peru and Chili might be invaded by the northern sea: this is a point that must now be enquired into.

THE Spanish possessions on the northern sea, extend from the gulph of Mexico to the Oroonoko. In that immense tract of country there are an infinite number of places where it is impossible to land, and many more where landing would answer no purpose. All the posts that have hitherto been

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considered as important, such as Vera Cruz, Chagre, Porto-Bello, and Carthegena, are fortified, and some of them with strength. BOOK VIII.

EXPERIENCE however has shewn that none of these places were impregnable: and it is well known that there are several nations capable of making themselves masters of any particular one that may appear most advantageous to them. There may also perhaps be found a power rich enough, and furnished with a sufficient number of men and ships to seize upon them all successively; and what appears to be a matter of much greater difficulty, capable of preserving them. The consequence of such a step would be, that the nature of the air in those fertile countries, which are most of them situated between the tropics, would destroy a vast number of the conquerors themselves. The climate which is always dangerous to the Europeans, fatal even for six months in the year, and pestilential to all foreigners accustomed to temperate weather, to an easy life, and to plenty, would prove their destruction. It appears from the most moderate computations, that three tenths of the French who go over to the American islands, and four tenths of the English, are victims to the climate; whereas the Spaniards lose but one tenth on the continent, which is much more unwholesome.

THOUGH some expedient should be found out to lessen the malignity of the climate, yet the conqueror would unavoidably be confined within the

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forts he had taken, and must never expect to share the produce of the mines, that are at an immense distance from the sea. Is it possible to conceive in what manner men, even of the greatest resolution, and most fertile in expedients, would penetrate into an uncultivated country without any possibility of procuring subsistence? Can we imagine that with infantry alone they would be able to act against a numerous and impetuous cavalry; or to advance through tremendous precipices, in a country where there never was but one road, and that a very bad one, which would certainly be broken up; or to force their way through defiles, which five hundred men of little or no courage might defend against an army of twenty thousand.

Supposing, however, that all these miraculous effects could take place, is it probable, that the Spaniards of America will submit to any foreign yoke whatever? Zealously devoted as they are from inclination, laziness, ignorance, custom, and pride, to their own civil and religious government, they will never accustom themselves to any system of foreign laws. Their prejudices will excite them to take up arms, and enable them to repel their conqueror, as the Portuguese, thrown into a remote corner of the earth, formerly drove the Dutch out of Brazil, when they had almost entirely subdued it.

The only way, therefore, remaining to secure the conquest of this country, would be to destroy all the Europeans who are settled there: for such

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is the unhappy fate of conquerors, that after they have made themſelves maſters of a country, they muſt deſtroy its inhabitants. But beſides that it would be odious and unjuſt to imagine that any civilized nation could be guilty of that extreme degree of cruelty, which has rendered the Spaniards the object of general deteſtation to all ſucceeding ages; an expedient of this kind would further be as abſurd in a political view, as it is horrid in a moral one. Every nation would be forced, in order to derive any advantages from its new poſſeſſions, to ſacrifice its own population, activity, and induſtry, and conſequently its whole power. It is generally known even to the moſt enlightened nations, that from the earlieſt ages, every ſtate that has made the working of mines an object of its attention, has miſerably periſhed, or languiſhed in poverty and ſlavery.



Some maritime power might however be ſo infatuated by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, as to endeavour to engroſs to itſelf thoſe advantages it now ſhares with its rivals. The prejudices of ſuch a people might induce them to think that the produce of the mines might be increaſed to double the preſent value, and agriculture improved infinitely beyond what it is at this time: they might imagine that artificers would quit the countries in which they are unemployed, in order to incorporate with the nation that would ſupply America with food and clothing; that thoſe ſhips which carried the fruits of their induſtry to the utmoſt parts of the earth,

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would now decay in the harbours, where the want of labour would put an end to navigation; that every branch of trade would neceſſarily fall entirely to the ſhare of that power that would be the ſole diſpenſer of riches; and that the whole world would in ſome degree be ſubject to a nation that had invaded all its treaſures.

THIS flattering deluſion would certainly occaſion the deſtruction of any nation that ſhould act in conformity to it; but it would involve Spain in long and ruinous wars, which it is both her intereſt and eaſy for her to prevent. The fitting out of a ſquadron would be the only neceſſary ſtep for this purpoſe, and this might be done in the iſland of Cuba. The ſituation of her docks at the Havannah is attended with this conſiderable advantage, that the coaſts which are moſt frequented by her ſhips, are moſtly ſituated under the torrid zone. The woods of Europe being too ſoft to reſiſt the exceſſive heat of that climate, conſequently dry up; while thoſe of the country, grown up and hardened in the ſcorching rays of the ſun, require little care to preſerve them for ſeveral ages.

BUT, to confine the uſe of this navy to the defence of the Spaniſh coaſt, would be detrimental in itſelf, and productive of ſeveral other evils. It might be uſefully employed in reviving the intercourſe between the national colonies, which was formerly interrupted by the privateers, and has been inconſiderable ever ſince. It ſhould prevent illicit trade, and the diſputes it occaſions. It

ſhould

ſhould ſecure the navigation, which is more precarious than ever, ſince the Engliſh were put in poſſeſſion of Florida by the treaty of 1763.

Some men of reſtleſs diſpoſitions, who often apprehend danger where it is not, and do not even ſuſpect it where it is evident to all, have ſuggeſted that the navigation of Spain might be intercepted at the entrance of the channel of Bahama. The harbour of St. Auguſtine is only fit for ſhips of a moderate ſize, and beſides, there are ſo many rapid currents in theſe latitudes, ſo many reefs and ſhoals, and ſuch frequent ſtorms, that it is impoſſible for the moſt expert ſailors to cruiſe there. It would be a greater misfortune to Spain, if Great Britain ſhould find a harbour fit to admit a fleet on the coaſts of Florida in the gulph of Mexico, which at preſent are ſo little known. This may poſſibly never happen; but as the court of Madrid cannot determine this with certainty, ſhe ought to endeavour to guard againſt ſuch an event by being provided with a good ſquadron.

This would anſwer another purpoſe which is equally important. The Engliſh colonies in North America are continually increaſing to a degree that excites univerſal aſtoniſhment. They may continue under the dominion of the mother country, or perhaps they may ſhake off the yoke. Whatever may be the event, their wants will augment with their population. This is already become ſo conſiderable, that the old markets are not ſufficient for the exportation of their commodities; nor the

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uſual returns adequate to their conſumption. This deficiency muſt have been the original cauſe of that great commotion, that has lately broke out in ſo violent a manner. Great Britain does not yet appear to have traced the true cauſe of theſe diſturbances, that have occaſioned ſuch alarms; but ſhe will in time diſcover it. The Engliſh will be ſenſible that the only expedient to reſtore tranquillity to their poſſeſſions abroad, is to render their trade more extenſive. Neceſſity, as well as ambition, will make them conquerors in America, and it is moſt probable the ſtorm will firſt break over Mexico. Nothing but the naval force of Spain can prevent or avert the impending revolution.

THE rendezvous for theſe forces would be very ill choſen at the Havannah, San Domingo, Vera-Cruz, Porto-Bello, or Carthegena, all unhealthy places, and laying to leeward; but it ſhould be at Bayahonda, between St. Martha and Maracaybo. That ſituation, though but little known, unites every advantage that can be deſired; an excellent harbour eaſy of acceſs, and capable with little difficulty of being made impregnable; great plenty of timber; a very wholeſome air; and a ſoil equally fit for agriculture and breeding of cattle. The ſavages who inhabit this country, and who fiſh for pearls at Cape Vela, would either remove, or continue their uſual employments, if they were treated with humanity. From this ſhelter the Spaniſh ſhips

ſhips would keep their enemy's ſettlements in awe, and protect their own. BOOK VIII.

It is true, however, that when once the ſhips had ſailed in thoſe ſeas that are to the leeward, they would find ſome difficulty in returning. The winds blowing regularly from the ſeveral points between ſouth-eaſt and north-eaſt, and the currents always ſetting to weſtward, muſt certainly make their paſſage very tedious. But this inconvenience ought not to make ſuch a project be given up, the neceſſity of which every thing tends to demonſtrate. A further advantage would be obtained by it, if this naval force could occaſionally proceed to the South Seas; but ſo uſeful a ſcheme is from the nature of things rendered impracticable. Before the ſquadron could ſail towards the line, it would be obliged to proceed as high as the latitude of the ſtraights of Gibraltar, a circumſtance that would expoſe it to the ſame inconveniencies as ſailing from Europe. All that could be done, would be to ſend over able ſailors by land, in order to man the ſhips that ſhould be ſtationed for the protection of the coaſts of Peru.

The plan of defence we have here laid down as proper for Spain to purſue, is liable to great difficulties. That monarchy may not, perhaps, be able to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for forming a navy, though ſhe may be convinced of its neceſſity; or, perhaps, may not be able to ſettle the funds requiſite for its ſupport. She may not, poſſibly, repoſe ſo much confidence in her agents in the

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the new world, as to intruſt them with ſo important a concern. Theſe objections, which we could not paſs over, appear, indeed, to be unanſwerable, in the preſent ſtate of weakneſs, ſloth, ignorance, and dejection of that power, which was once ſo formidable. But a prudent, vigorous, and ſpeedy reformation, aſſiſted by the care and authority of government, which would excite the attention of the people to ſuch a plan, induce them to make attempts, and animate them to exert their efforts, would ſoon remove a variety of objections, which a ſpirit of timidity magnifies, increaſes, and tends to perpetuate.

ABUSES of a long continuance, and perſons who are materially intereſted in ſupporting them, will prove impediments to every plan of public advantage for the colonies. But theſe will ſoon be obviated, if they are firſt vigorouſly attacked in the mother country.

Cauſes of the decay of Spain.

ALL the political writers who have attempted to trace the cauſes of thoſe evils under which Spain has ſo long been oppreſſed, have conſtantly urged, that the Spaniards finding themſelves maſters of the treaſures of America, had voluntarily neglected their manufactures and agriculture. Such an idea can never have been entertained by any people. Nations are not generally guided by reaſon; they are directed or hurried on by the train of events, which are in the hands of their rulers. The riches of America, far from occaſioning the decay of arts and ſciences, have from the begin-

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ing contributed to their encouragement, and must necessarily have produced this effect. BOOK VIII.

FERDINAND, by the conquest of the kingdom of Granada, had acquired all the manufactures of Spain, which were chiefly in the hands of the Moors; but they had considerably injured the sale of their goods by the expulsion of the Jews. The discovery of America soon excited a spirit of industry and commerce, which increased greatly under Charles V, and even under Philip II. In the last years of his reign, the city of Seville alone contained sixty thousand looms for weaving silks. The woollens of Segovia were esteemed the best in Europe. The Levant and Italy preferred those of Catalonia to any other. The armament against England, known by the name of the invincible Armada, and consisting of a hundred and fifty large men of war, is a proof that Spain had at that time a powerful navy, and consequently a very extensive trade by sea. In the course of a century, the Spaniards were engaged in very considerable and expensive undertakings. The wars of the Low Countries and of the League alone were attended with an expence of three thousand millions of livres.* By these different means, they sent infinitely more of their specie into foreign countries than they have since done by trade.

IF the Spaniards at that time had been under a necessity of buying the commodities they sent to their colonies, Europe would even from that period

* 131,250,000l.

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riod have enjoyed the treasures of America, as she does at present. Spain would then never have been able to have had such a prodigious navy, and such a number of land forces, nor to have kept in her pay so many foreign troops; she could not have excited divisions among the neighbouring states, and subverted every thing by her intrigues; neither could she have been the principal spring of all political events, nor almost the most considerable power into the world.

The visible decay of Spain may be dated from the total expulsion of the Moors and Jews in 1611. This decrease of her power was so rapid, that some Spanish writers proposed schemes for the political restoration of their empire, as early as the year 1619. It is easy to conceive what a vacancy the loss of a million of laborious men must make in their country, at a time when the nobility, who still retained all the prejudices and barbarous privileges of the Visigoths from whom they boasted their descent, threw all the labour upon that class of men they despised, though in fact the most useful. The military, that destructive profession, was the only one that was entitled to any distinction; and the arts, by which things are brought into existence, preserved, and kept in order, stamped a mark of dishonour upon those who professed them. If agriculture were in the least attended to, it was because there were slaves. If there were any trade, it was because there were Jews. Lastly, if Spain had any manufactures, it was owing to the

the Moors, who led a laborious life, and were generally held in contempt. Government did not consider, that in order to retain the treasures of America in the mother country, nothing more was necessary than to encourage that industry which brought them there. The only active part of the nation, the only set of men that could promote this great end, were infamously banished. In vain did these unhappy sufferers offer the government twenty millions, and they would even have tripled that sum, to obtain a permission to continue in the country where they were born; the same superstition that had devoted them to destruction prevented the policy of the state from attending to their complaints. There was not any nation in Europe at that time sufficiently enlightened to offer them an asylum, and they were forced to disperse themselves in Africa and Asia.



While these unhappy men were driven by despair to take refuge upon those barbarous coasts, Spain triumphed in her blind fanaticism; and imagined herself still the richest kingdom in the world, without even entertaining a suspicion that the ships which crowded her harbours, were continually exhausting her substance. When the Spaniards became sensible of the diminution of their specie, they imputed it to the loss of some India ships that had been cast away in their passage home, to the taking of the galleons by the Dutch, and to the badness of their sales. They thought that to supply these deficiencies, it was only necessary

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ceſſary to impoſe heavier duties on manufactures and artificers. But this burden, which could not have been ſupported by the workmen even when their number was conſiderable, grew intolerable when only few of them remained. They fled into Flanders and Italy, or continued in the country and quitted their profeſſion. The ſilks of Valencia, and the fine wool of Andaluſia and Caſtile, were no longer manufactured by the Spaniards.

THE treaſury having no more manufactures to oppreſs, now oppreſſed the farmers. The taxes levied upon agriculture, were as ill judged as they were various and exceſſive. Beſides general duties, there were what the financiers call extraordinary duties, which is a mode of levying money upon a particular claſs of citizens; a kind of tax unprofitable to the ſtate, and ruinous to thoſe who are taxed, and which tends only to enrich the perſon who has contrived it. Theſe reſources proved inadequate to the urgent neceſſities of government, and the financiers were called upon to advance conſiderable ſums. At this period, they became maſters of the ſtate, and were empowered to farm out the ſeveral parts of their leaſe. This introduced a multitude of agents, and with them numberleſs reſtraints and oppreſſions. The laws which theſe rapacious men were allowed to enact, were only ſo many ſnares to ſeduce the honeſt and credulous. In proceſs of time, they uſurped the ſovereign authority, and found means to elude the royal tribunals, to chuſe judges for themſelves, and to

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pay them. In ſhort, they became judges in their own cauſe.



THE owners of the lands that were oppreſſed by this tyranny, either threw up their eſtates, or neglected the improvement of them. That fertile peninſula, which, though ſubject to frequent droughts, ſtill afforded ſubſiſtence to thirteen or fourteen millions of inhabitants before the diſcovery of America, and had formerly been the granary of Rome and all Italy, was ſoon overſpread with thorns and briars. The pernicious cuſtom of fixing the price of corn was then adopted; and public granaries were eſtabliſhed in every province, which were conſequently managed without either ſkill, care, or honeſty. Beſides, what advantage could be expected to ariſe from ſuch precarious reſources? How could it poſſibly enter into any one's thoughts, to lay reſtraints upon the price of corn, in order to increaſe the quantity of it; to raiſe the price of proviſions, in order to make them cheaper; or to facilitate monopoly, in order to prevent it?

WHEN once a nation has begun to decline, it ſeldom recovers itſelf. The loſs of population, of the manufactures, of trade, and of agriculture, was attended with the greateſt evils. While Europe was daily improving in knowledge, and all nations were animated with a ſpirit of induſtry, Spain was falling into a ſtate of inaction and barbariſm. The duties of the former cuſtoms, which were ſtill ſuffered to remain upon goods paſſing from

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from one province to another, were carried to such an excefs, as to prevent all communication between them. Even the conveyance of money from one province to another, was prohibited. In a ſhort time, not the leaſt ſign of a road was to be ſeen. Travellers were ſtopped at the croſſing of rivers, where there was neither bridge nor boats. There was not a ſingle canal, or one navigable river. People, the moſt ſuperſtitious in the world, with regard to the obſervance of faſt days, ſuffered their fiſheries to decline, and bought fiſh every year to the amount of twelve millions.* Except a few ill-built veſſels deſtined for their colonies, they had not a ſingle ſhip belonging to government in their harbours. Their coaſts lay expoſed to the depredations of the corſairs from Barbary. To avoid theſe, they were obliged to freight upon foreign bottoms, even the *aviſos* they ſent to the Canary iſlands and to America. Philip IV, poſſeſſed of all the rich mines of America, at once found all his gold changed into copper, and was reduced to the neceſſity of making his copper coin bear almoſt the ſame value as that of ſilver.

THESE were not the greateſt grievances of the monarchy. Spain, from an abſurd and ſuperſtitious veneration for the age of her conqueſts, ſcornfully rejected whatever was not practiſed in thoſe glorious days. The Spaniards ſaw all other nations growing more enlightened, more exalted, and more powerful, but thought it beneath them to copy

* 525,000l.

copy after any one of them. An abſolute contempt for the improvements and cuſtoms of their neighbours formed the diſtinguiſhing character of this people. BOOK VIII.

THE inquiſition, that tremendous tribunal, which was at firſt eſtabliſhed in order to ſtop the progreſs of Judaiſm and Mohammedaniſm, had proved fatal to arts and ſciences, and to all uſeful knowledge. Religious diſputes occaſioned, indeed, no diſturbances or ravages in Spain; but ſhe remained in a ſtate of the moſt profound ignorance. Such diſputes, though always abſurd in themſelves, ſerve however to exerciſe the mind. They induce men to read and reflect, to conſult antiquity, ſtudy hiſtory, and the ancient languages; hence ariſes criticiſm, which is productive of true taſte. The ſubject that firſt excited the exertion of the mind, ſoon becomes of no conſequence; books written on controverſial points are neglected, but the knowledge they have diffuſed remains. Religious matters are like thoſe acid and volatile particles that exiſt in all bodies fit for fermentation. They firſt occaſion a cloud in the liquor that was before clear, but ſoon put the maſs in motion. In this ferment, they fly off or ſink to the bottom; and when the whole is depurated, nothing remains but a ſoft, pleaſant and nutritive fluid. But in the general ferment of theological diſputes, all the refuſe ſtill continued in Spain. Superſtition had ſo infatuated the nation, that they even gloried in their blindneſs.

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INSTEAD of that activity which could alone animate the several parts of those wide dominions that lay too much scattered, the Spaniards were so slow in their motions, that all business was impeded. Such a variety of forms, precautions, and deliberations were multiplied to prevent imposition, that they only put a stop to every commercial transaction.

THE wars in which the Spaniards were engaged were as ill conducted as their system of politics. A population which was hardly sufficient for the many garrisons they kept in Italy, in the Low countries, in Africa, and in the Indies, rendered them incapable of raising an army at home. At the first breaking out of a war, they were obliged to have recourse to foreign troops. The few Spaniards who were sent to fight along with these mercenaries, were so far from being able to manage them, that their own allegiance was frequently shaken by this intercourse. They have frequently revolted together with the foreign troops, and ravaged the provinces that were committed to their protection.

A regular pay would infallibly have prevented, or soon put a stop to this spirit of sedition. But to provide for the payment of troops, and to keep them in that state of dependence and subordination so necessary to good discipline, government should have suppressed that multitude of useless officers, who by their salaries and their oppressions absorbed the greatest part of the public revenue; the

the moſt ancient rights of the crown ſhould not have been alienated for a trifling conſideration, or ſuffered to be invaded; nor ſhould the royal treaſures have been ſquandered away, to entertain ſpies and to procure traitors in every country. But care ſhould have been particularly taken, that the grandeur of the prince ſhould not have been made to conſiſt in granting penſions and favours to all who had no other claim, but that which they derived from their boldneſs in aſking for them.

This noble and iniquitous way of receiving alms was become general. The Spaniard, naturally generous, having acquired a ſpirit of pride, diſdained the common occupations of life, and aſpired after nothing but governments, biſhoprics, and the chief employments in the ſtate.

Thoſe who could not attain to theſe preferments, glorying in their proud inſolence, ſtill aſſumed the ſtyle of the court, and maintained as much gravity in their idleneſs, as a miniſter abſorbed in ſtate affairs.

Even the lower claſs of the people would have thought they defiled their victorious hands by proſtituting them to peaceful labours. The fields and manufactures were left to foreigners, who came and enriched themſelves by the indolence of the natives, and carried home a ſtock to fertilize their own lands.

Men born to no property, meanly preferring idle ſlavery to laborious liberty, eagerly ſollicited to be admitted into the number of domeſtics that

BOOK VIII. the great kept in their retinue, with that pomp which magnificently displays the pride of the most useless, and the degradation of the most necessary class of men.

THOSE who had too much vanity remaining to live without some distinction, crowded into the convents, where superstitious men had long since provided a convenient retreat for their indolence, and had carried their absurdity so far as to lavish marks of distinction upon them.

EVEN the Spaniards who had competent fortunes, rather gave up all thoughts of posterity, than to attend to the establishment of it. If some, induced by love and virtuous motives, chose, in imitation of the great, to enter into marriage, they sent their sons, in their earlier years to be educated in the superstitious manner of the colleges; and from the age of fifteen resigned them to the courtezans. The abilities and strength of these young men being thus vitiated, they were equally enervated by these infamous connections, which they did not even break off when they entered into the sacred ties of matrimony. This extreme licentiousness is the original and only cause of the decay of population in Spain, where women were formerly as fruitful as in any other populous country.

OUT of this degenerate race were taken the men who were to hold the reins of government. Their administration was answerable to their education, being a constant scene of idleness and corruption.

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They seldom discovered any sense of virtue or justice, or the least desire of promoting the happiness of their fellow creatures. They thought only of plundering the provinces intrusted to their care, in order to dissipate in idleness and profusion at Madrid the fruits of their extortion. This conduct was always pursued with impunity, though it often occasioned seditions, insurrections, conspiracies and sometimes revolutions.



Besides all this, the states that were united to Castile by marriage or conquest, contributed to complete the ruin of the Spanish monarchy. The low countries did not afford a sufficiency to pay the garrisons that were kept to defend them. Franche Comté supplied nothing; Sardinia, Sicily and the Milanese were even burthensome to government. The tributes of Naples and Portugal were mortgaged to strangers. Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Rousillon, the Balearic islands and Navarre, pretend they owed nothing to the monarchy but a free gift, which was always settled by their deputies, but seldom to the satisfaction of a rapacious court, exhausted by absurd liberalities.

While affairs were in this state of confusion in Spain, the treasures of America, which at first had only been introduced into other European nations by the interests of war and politics, were now circulated through a more easy channel. As the mother country could not possibly supply the wants of her colonies, this quickened the industry of other nations, which till then had been extremely

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confined. The original poſſeſſors of the riches of America could only obtain the duties of the fifth, the indulto, guarda coſtas, cuſtoms and commiſſion: duties which have only increaſed the price of commodities to foreign merchants, by diminiſhing the conſumption of them; for the Peruvians and Mexicans, among whom this conſumption is made, ſtand in reality charged with theſe additional expences. It is by theſe means that the gold and ſilver which the diſcovery of America has made ſo plentiful in Europe, have been more generally circulated, and more equally diſtributed.

In vain were all foreign nations excluded from trading in any of the American ports, by a ſevere law enacted by Ferdinand and Iſabella and confirmed by their ſucceſſors. The indiſpenſable law of neceſſity has ſuperſeded this regulation, which was intended to be perpetual, and has thrown all that trade into foreign hands. From the amount of about fifty millions* worth of commodities and merchandiſe that are annually ſhipped off from Cadiz for the Weſt Indies, ſcarce one eighth is Spaniſh property. The reſt belong to other nations, friends or foes, ſent in the name of Spaniards, who are always true to individuals and diſhoneſt to government. The probity of the Spaniards, which has never been attainted, has been a ſecurity to foreigners in this trade.

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* 2,188,000l.

GOVERNMENT, who could not be ignorant of the unavoidable disadvantages arising from these perpetual breaches of the law, thought to obviate them by a more absurd one than the former. It prohibited, upon pain of capital punishment, the exportation of gold and silver; as if the Spaniards were not obliged to pay for what they wanted to buy. When the execution of this law was enforced, the Spaniard who is the factor at Cadiz for other nations, delivered the ingots to some bravoes, called *Meteors*, who being well armed, went upon the ramparts with the ingots all numbered, and threw them down to other meteors, who carried them to the boats that were waiting for them. They were never disturbed by the factors, the custom-house officers or the guards, who all shared the profits of the fraud, which the injustice of the law seemed to authorise; and the foreign merchant was never imposed upon. These expences enhanced the price of the merchandise, and the purchaser was under a necessity of paying them. The prohibition of exporting gold and silver was so ineffectual, that though a prodigious quantity came over every year from America, there was very little seen in the kingdom. Greater severity would only have advanced the price of commodities, by increasing the difficulty of paying for them. If, in conformity to the strictness of the proclamations, the delinquent had been apprehended, tried and condemned to death, and all his goods forfeited; such an atrocious act, far

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from preventing, would rather have increaſed the exportation of ſpecie; becauſe thoſe who had before been content with a moderate profit, would require a more conſiderable one when the riſque was greater, and would have exported a greater quantity of ſpecie, that their profits might be ſo much the more increaſed.

THE court of Madrid has at length been convinced of the pernicious tendency of this tyranny. The ancient governments, which entertained a proper reſpect for the laws, would certainly have repealed any particular one, if they had found that the obſervance of it was abſolutely impracticable. In the preſent age, when kingdoms are governed more by the caprice of adminiſtration than by rational principles, Spain has been ſatisfied with the regulation ſhe made a few years ago, that foreign traders ſhould have all the profits of the merchandiſe they ſhould ſend to America, on paying three per cent. The money was to be tranſmitted by bankers, ſettled for that purpoſe in the principal cities of Europe. The deſign of the miniſtry was, to make themſelves maſters of the trade of the piaſtres, and conſequently of the exchange. This plan, which was, perhaps, more extenſive than juſt, has not ſucceeded. The agents made choice of, have betrayed the truſt repoſed in them. The court of Spain has not perſiſted in ſupporting a ſyſtem which could not long exiſt. Every private man is now at liberty to draw his money directly from Spain, upon paying the accuſtomed duties,

duties, which in the year 1768 were advanced from three to four per cent. If they were more moderate, government would derive greater advantages from them. There are certain times when the Spaniſh ſmugglers can bring the piaſtres on board the ſhips, for a price below the ſtated value; and it may eaſily be imagined thoſe opportunities are eagerly ſeized.

Cauſes of the decay of the Spaniſh colonies.

WHILE the mother country was declining, the colonies could not poſſibly flouriſh. If the Spaniards had underſtood their true intereſt, they would, perhaps, on the firſt diſcovery of America, have been content with eſtabliſhing an equitable intercourſe with the Indians, which would have ſettled a mutual dependence, and reciprocal profits between the two nations. The manufactures of the old world, would have been bartered for the produce of the mines of the new; and wrought iron would have been changed for its weight of unwrought ſilver. A laſting union, the neceſſary conſequence of a peaceable traffic, would have been eſtabliſhed without bloodſhed or devaſtation. Spain would equally have been miſtreſs of Mexico and Peru; becauſe any nation that cultivates the arts, and does not communicate the method by which it carries them on, will always have an evident ſuperiority over thoſe to whom it ſells its manufactures.

THIS method of reaſoning was not adopted by the Spaniards. The eaſe with which they had ſubdued the Indians, the aſcendant which Charles V. had

BOOK VIII. had uſurped over all Europe, the natural pride of conquerors, the particular temper of the Spaniards, their ignorance of the true principles of commerce; all theſe, and various other cauſes, prevented them from giving to the conquered countries of America at their firſt eſtabliſhment there, a good ſyſtem of legiſlation, a well regulated form of government, and a degree of ſtability capable of inſuring their duration.

THE depopulation of America was the melancholy effect of this irregularity. The firſt ſteps of the conquerors were marked with ſtreams of blood. Aſtoniſhed as much at their own victories, as the ſavages were at their defeat, and intoxicated with their ſucceſs, they reſolved to extirpate the people they had plundered. Innumerable nations diſappeared from the face of the earth at the arrival of theſe barbarians; and theſe horrid ſcenes of cruelty have been hitherto aſcribed to a thirſt of gold, and to a ſpirit of fanaticiſm.

BUT the ferocious diſpoſition natural to man, unreſtrained by the fear of puniſhment, or by any ſenſe of ſhame, and unawed by the preſence of civilized men, might ſo far conceal from the Spaniards the image of an organiſation ſimilar to their own, (a ſimilarity which is the foundation of all moral duties) as to induce them to treat their new-diſcovered brethren as they did the wild beaſts of the other hemiſphere, and to do it with as little remorſe: beſides that the cruelty ariſing from military exploits increaſes in proportion to the dangers

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gers the ſoldier has gone through, to thoſe he now endures, or to thoſe he expects: Is he not of a more ſanguinary diſpoſition in remote countries than at home; and do not the ſentiments of humanity grow weaker, the more diſtant we are from onr native country? It may likewiſe be conjectured that the Spaniards, who, on their firſt landing, were taken for Gods, might be afraid of being detected and maſſacred; that they miſtruſted the marks of kindneſs that were ſhewn them; that when once they had begun to ſhed blood, they thought their own ſafety required that they ſhould not diſcontinue; that their army, conſiſting only of a ſmall number of men, being ſurrounded by an innumerable multitude of natives, whoſe language they did not underſtand, and whoſe cuſtoms and manners they were ſtrangers to, was ſeized with a panic, either well or ill grounded. But the circumſtance the moſt inexplicable of all, is, the abſurd barbarity of government, that countenanced ſuch ſcenes of horror, and kept thoſe profligate men in pay to perſecute and deſtroy their brethren.

The Spaniards, the deſcendants or ſlaves of the Viſigoths, like them divided among themſelves the deſert lands, and the men who had eſcaped their ſword. Moſt of theſe wretched victims did not long ſurvive, doomed to a ſtate of ſlavery worſe than death. The laws that were occaſionally eſtabliſhed in order to alleviate the hardſhips of their ſervitude, afforded them but ſmall relief.

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The ſavage, proud, and rapacious Spaniards paid as little regard to the commands of a monarch who was too far remote from them, as to the tears of the poor miſerable Indians.

THE mines proved ſtill a greater cauſe of deſtruction. Ever ſince the diſcovery of America, the Spaniards had attended only to this ſpecies of wealth. In vain did ſome men of more enlightened underſtanding exclaim againſt this infatuation. Let the gold remain where it is, ſaid they, provided the ſurface of the earth that covers it can but produce an ear of corn that will make bread, or a blade of graſs to feed your ſheep. The only metal you want is iron. Work it into ſaws, hammers, and plough-ſhares, but not into weapons of deſtruction. The quantity of gold requiſite for the purpoſes of exchange is ſo inconſiderable, that it is unneceſſary to accumulate any great ſtock of it. It is very immaterial whether a hundred ells of cloth ſell for one pound or twenty pounds of gold. The Spaniards have acted like the dog in the fable, that dropped the meat out of his mouth to bite at the image of it in the water, and was drowned in attempting to get it.

UNFORTUNATELY the Indians were the victims of this fatal error. Thoſe unhappy men were ſent to work at a very great depth under ground, where they were deprived of day-light, of a free and wholeſome air, of the chief ſupports of life, and of the comfort of weeping with their friends and relations; and were doomed to dig

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their own graves in thoſe dark manſions, which now contain more aſhes of the dead than gold duſt. If we conſider the barbarities exerciſed againſt theſe people, we cannot but be aſtoniſhed to hear the covetous and ſtupid Spaniard complain that the Indians will not tell them of ſeveral mines they have diſcovered both before and ſince the conqueſt. Thoſe wretched people would only multiply the means of their own deſtruction, by betraying the ſecret they have received from their fathers, or that chance has thrown in their way. BOOK VIII.

The unhappy Indians, whoſe fate it was to ſubmit to the yoke, have therefore fled in great numbers from the lands they cultivated for their rapacious maſters, and taken refuge among the ſavages who wander in the foreſts and deſerts of the Cordeleras. Thoſe impenetrable receſſes are become the aſylum of multitudes of Indians, who conſtantly threaten the Spaniſh provinces with ſudden invaſion or open war. They contract a degree of ferociouſneſs in thoſe ſevere climates, which renders them ſo formidable, that the Spaniards have been obliged to abandon ſome very rich mines, that were expoſed to their inroads. The deficiency of population among theſe ſavages, occaſioned by the barrenneſs of the ſoil, the want of attention, and of the reſources which ſociety affords, is compenſated by a conſtant ſupply of fugitives, who make their eſcape from European tyranny. It is in theſe mountains that a race is ſecretly riſing up, which will one day aſſert its lawful rights, and recover

BOOK VIII. recover its liberty and poſſeſſions out of the cruel and rapacious hands of thoſe who have invaded them; and, perhaps, that day is not far diſtant.

ANOTHER cauſe of depopulation is, that the Europeans have taught them new wants, while they deprived them of the means of ſatisfying them. Before the conqueſt, the Indians went naked, or what they wanted for ornament they made themſelves, which was a kind of employment or buſineſs among them. Their whole care was to cultivate a field of maize. Gold and ſilver had no value among them, as all their traffic conſiſted in exchanging one thing for another. Since the Indian has been taught to live in ſociety, he muſt have lodging and food, and muſt frequently clothe himſelf with the produce of foreign manufactures. As he is ignorant of every art and trade, he is to procure thoſe neceſſaries his new wants require; and though he ſhould not entirely give himſelf up to deſpondency, yet his labours would ſcarce procure him a ſubſiſtence; ſo that, the luxury and the poverty which oppreſs him, have reduced him to the neceſſity of concealing himſelf from the public eye, living in a ſolitary manner, and giving up all thoughts of his poſterity.

THIS cauſe of depopulation was ſucceeded by another ſtill more dreadful, the very idea of which formerly inſpired all Europe with horror. The celebrated Drake, having taken the town of St. Domingo in 1586, found that the iſlanders were grown

grown so desperate, that, rather than see their children fall into the hands of the conqueror, they were unanimously come to a resolution to have no connection with their wives. This abstinence from the most natural desire implanted in human nature, which is the only instance of the kind ever recorded in history, seems to have been reserved to the æra of the discovery of the new world, as a perpetual monument of Spanish tyranny. What else could the American oppose to this thirst of destruction than the horrid vow of ceasing to perpetuate their posterity? Thus the earth was stained with the blood of the fathers, and deprived of the succeeding generation.

From this period the country seemed to lay under a curse for these barbarous conquerors. The empire they had founded began to tend to general destruction. Profligacy and corruption made a rapid progress among them. The most important fortresses were suffered to decay. The country was left without arms or magazines. The soldiers who were neither exercised, fed, nor clothed, became beggars or thieves. The very first principles of war and navigation were forgotten; as well as the very names of the instruments made use of in those two necessary arts.

Trade consisted only in the art of cheating. The gold and silver, which were to be brought into the king's coffers, were fraudulently diminished, and reduced to a fourth part of the sum they ought to have produced. All orders of men, corrupted

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BOOK VIII. by avarice, united their efforts to prevent a true ſtate of things from being laid before the throne, or to ſave thoſe perſons who had rendered themſelves obnoxious to the law. The magiſtrates of every rank and degree always unanimouſly exerted themſelves to ſupport each other in their injuſtice.

THE ſcene of confuſion occaſioned by theſe extortions, introduced the fatal expedient of all ill-governed ſtates; that of numberleſs taxes; as if goverument had two objects in view, to put a ſtop to every kind of induſtry, and to increaſe oppreſſion.

IGNORANCE kept pace with injuſtice, "I ſaw, "ſays a celebrated traveller, the very ſame ſen- "tence paſſed in one and the ſame tribunal, and "almoſt within the ſame hour, in two caſes that "were directly oppoſite. All endeavours to make "the judges underſtand the difference was to no "purpoſe. At laſt the chief judge, ſeeming to "be convinced, roſe up, and turning up his "whiſkers, ſwore by the holy virgin, and all the "ſaints, that the Engliſh Lutherans had run away "with *pope Juſtinian*'s books, which he always "made uſe of to try intricate cauſes: but if thoſe "dogs ſhould ever come again, he would have "them all burnt."

THE ſame traveller relates that "one day Ovid's "Metamorphoſes fell accidentally into the hands "of a creole; he carried it to a friar, who under- "ſtood no more of it than himſelf, and made the "inhabitants believe it was an Engliſh bible: he "proved

" proved it by the prints he ſhewed them at every " Metamorphoſis, ſaying; ſee how thoſe dogs " worſhip the devil, and how he transforms them " into beaſts. Then the pretended bible was " thrown into a fire kindled on purpoſe, and the " monk made a long oration, which conſiſted of " thankſgivings to St. Francis for this lucky diſ- " covery."

As ignorance is always favourable to ſuperſtition, the miniſters of religion, without being more enlightened than others, aſſumed a ſuperiority in the management of all public affairs. Being leſs apprehenſive of puniſhment, they were always the moſt forward to break through the laws of juſtice, and all rules of morality and decency. The leaſt corrupted among them became traders, and the reſt availed themſelves of their eccleſiaſtical power to extort from the Indians all they were poſſeſſed of. A Spaniſh monk who did not gain at leaſt a hundred thouſand livres* by a ſhort voyage to America was conſidered as a man of little ſkill in trade. Their rapaciouſneſs was often voluntarily gratified at their arrival by preſents of immenſe value. It might have been imagined that America had been conquered for no other purpoſe than to ornament the churches and to enrich the clergy.

The hatred which aroſe between the Spaniards born in America, and thoſe who came from Europe, completed their ruin. The court had imprudently



* 4,375l.

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prudently laid the foundation of these unhappy divisions. The Creoles had been falsely represented as little better than barbarians, and nearly of the same character as Indians. They thought they could not depend upon their skill, courage, or fidelity, and therefore determined to exclude them from all places of trust and profit. This resolution, injurious as it was, highly disgusted the Creoles. The Spaniards, who were invested with authority over them, were so far from endeavouring to reconcile them, that they studied on the contrary to exasperate them by humiliating partialities. This produced an inveterate hatred between these two orders of men, one of which was loaded with favours, and the others stigmatized with disgrace. This animosity has often broken out in such a manner as to endanger the dominion of the mother country in the new world; and will some time or other occasion a revolution. Such an event may with the greater certainty be expected, and perhaps, is not very distant, as the clergy on both sides, who have adopted the same hatred and animosities, will never relinquish them, and will endeavour, according to the spirit that has always actuated them, to make the people irreconcileable enemies.

SINCE the accession of the Bourbon family to the throne of Charles V. these disorders, and the evils arising from them, have in some degree diminished. The nobility do not take upon themselves that kind of state which is an attendant upon

upon regal dignity, and which often embarraſſed the government. The management of public affairs is not now confined to perſons of high birth, but given to men in favour, of fortune or merit. The produce of the general and provincial revenues of Spain, which an infamous adminiſtration had reduced to leſs than eight millions* towards the latter end of the laſt century, now brings in 72,656,805 livres†. This happy change which firſt took place in the mother country, extended itſelf afterwards to the colonies. The three departments that are intruſted with the management of their affairs in Europe, have gradually been leſs under the dominion of that fatal diſpoſition which ſeemed to influence all their proceedings. The council in India is more uſefully employed in regulating the government of the colonies, and attending to their preſervation. The contractation office removed from Seville to Cadiz conducts their trade with greater abilities. The conſulate, which takes cognizance of the differences ariſing between the merchants trading to that part of America, and is appointed to watch over the maintenance of their privileges, has acquired ſome degree of attention and knowledge.

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Means that Spain ought to employ to re-eſtabliſh itſelf.

These firſt ſteps towards a reformation muſt be an inducement to the Spaniſh miniſtry to hope that a good form of government may be eſtabliſhed, when the true principles on which it is founded are once known, and the proper means made uſe



* 350,000l. † 3,178,735l. 4s. 4d. ½.

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of to effect it. The character of the nation is not an invincible obstacle to this change, as it is too generally thought to be. Indolence is not so natural to the Spaniards as we imagine. If we look back to those times in which this unfavourable prejudice was first entertained, we shall find that this want of activity did not extend to every thing; and that if Spain was inactive at home, she was not so abroad, but was incessantly disturbing the repose of her neighbours. Her idleness proceeds in some degree from foolish pride. Because the nobility were unemployed, the people imagined it was a mark of nobility to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the same prerogative; and the starved, half-naked Spaniard, carelessly sitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one from a motive of pride despises the conveniences of life; while the other from a principle of vanity, endeavours to acquire them. The climate made the Spaniards abstemious, and indigence renders him more so. The monkish spirit, to which he has long been subject, makes him consider poverty, which is occasioned by his vices, as a virtue. As he has no property, he covets none; but his aversion for labour is greater still than his contempt for riches.

That poor and proud people have nothing left of their ancient character, but an immoderate fondness for every thing that has the appearance of grandeur. They must be flattered with chimerical ideas,

ideas, and animated with the ſtrongeſt hopes of glory. The ſatisfaction they feel in depending on none but the crown ſince the abaſement of the grandees, makes them receive all that comes from the court with reſpect and confidence. This powerful influence might be made ſubſervient to their happineſs. Some means might be contrived to perſuade them that labour is honourable, and the nation will ſoon become what it was before the diſcovery of America, in thoſe glorious times, when, without any foreign aid, Spain threatened the liberties of all Europe.



When the imagination of this people is once properly directed, and they are brought to be aſhamed of their haughty ſpirit of indolence, other evils muſt be attended to. The moſt deſtructive to the bulk of the nation is the want of population. Well-governed colonies will naturally increaſe the population of the mother country, which on her part promotes the increaſe of theirs, by ſupplying them with advantegeous marts for the produce of their induſtry. It is on this plan, alike intereſting to humanity and ſound policy, that the more enlightened nations of Europe have formed their ſettlements in America. This wiſe and noble deſign has been univerſally crowned with ſucceſs. Spain alone, which had formed her ſyſtem in a darker age, has ſeen her population decreaſe at home, in proportion as her poſſeſſions increaſed abroad.

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When the disproportion between the extent of a territory and its inhabitants is not very considerable, the balance may be gradually restored by activity, oeconomy, great encouragements given to matrimony, and a long peace. Spain, whose population, in the year 1747, amounted to no more than 7,423,590 souls, including 180,046 ecclesiastics; and who has now in her colonies little more than the twentieth part of the population there was soon after the conquest, cannot remedy this evil either at home or abroad without new and extraordinary efforts. To increase the laborious classes of men, there must be a reduction of the clergy, which enervates and destroys the state. Two thirds of her military force must be abolished, and these soldiers must be employed in the arts; since the connection with France, and the weakness of Portugal, no longer render them necessary. As their clear revenue is 112,000,000*, and the general expences amount only to 96,000,000 of livres†, the government must apply itself to alleviate the burdens of the people as soon as its possessions in both hemispheres are extricated from that confusion and disorder into which they had been thrown, for these two centuries past thro' the effects of incapacity, ignorance and tyranny. But it is first absolutely necessary that the infamous tribunal of the inquisition should be abolished, which seems to be levelled equally against the monarch

* 4,900,000l. † 4,200,000l.

narch and the people, by keeping both under the yoke of an abſurd ſuperſtition. BOOK VIII.

SUPERSTITION, whatever may be the reaſon of it, prevails among all nations, whether rude or civilized. It proceeds undoubtedly from the fear of evil, and from the ignorance of its cauſes, or of its remedy. At leaſt this alone is ſufficient to imprint it in the minds of all men. The calamities of nature, plagues, ſickneſs, unforeſeen accidents, deſtructive phænomena, all the latent cauſes of pain and death, are ſo univerſal on earth, that it would be very ſurpriſing if man had not been deeply affected with them in every country and in every age.

BUT this natural fear muſt always have increaſed, or have been magnified in proportion to ignorance and ſenſibility. It muſt have given riſe to the worſhip of the elements that are moſt deſtructive to the earth, ſuch as inundations, conflagrations and plagues; the worſhip of animals, whether venomous or voracious, but always noxious: from hence too muſt have ariſen the worſhip of men who have done the greateſt injuries to mankind, of conquerors, of fortunate impoſtors, of the workers of prodigies, apparently good or bad; and the worſhip of inviſible and imaginary beings, ſuppoſed to lie concealed in every inſtrument of deſtruction. Reflection and the ſtudy of nature muſt have inſenſibly leſſened the number of theſe inviſible agents, and the human mind muſt have riſen from idolatry to theiſm; but this laſt ſimple

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and sublime idea will always have remained imperfect and confused in the minds of the vulgar, and mixed with a multitude of errors and fancies.

Revelation had confirmed and perfected the idea of the doctrine of the unity of God; and, perhaps, a more incorrupt religion would then have been established, had not the northern barbarians, who poured in upon the several provinces of the Roman empire, brought along with them their own sacred prejudices, which could not be dispelled but by other fables. Unfortunately christianity was preached to men incapable of understanding it thoroughly. They would not embrace it, unless it was attended with that external pomp and shew in which ignorance delights. Interested motives burdened it, and debased it more and more with other observances, and constantly invented new doctrines and miracles, which were the more revered as they were the less credible. The nations, engaged during twelve centuries in dividing and contesting about the several provinces of an universal monarchy, which one nation had formed in less than two hundred years, admitted without examination all the errors which the priests, after much controversy, had agreed to teach the multitude.

But the clergy, too numerous to maintain any unanimity of opinion, had cherished the seeds of division, which must sooner or later be communicated to the people. The time came when the same spirit of ambition and avarice that actuated

ated the whole church exerted itſelf with great animoſity againſt many ſuperſtitions that were univerſally adopted. BOOK VIII.

As it was from cuſtom that the people had received all thoſe puerile notions which they had ſuffered themſelves to be deluded into, and that they were not attached to them from national principles or party ſpirit, thoſe who were moſt intereſted in ſupporting them, were unable to defend them, when they were attacked with that ſteadineſs that was calculated to fix the attention of the public. But nothing ſo much promoted the reformation of Luther and Calvin, as the liberty they granted to every one to examine and determine finally upon the religious principles he had been taught. Tho' the multitude was incapable of undertaking this diſcuſſion, yet every man plumed himſelf upon having the privilege to determine on a ſubject in which his moſt valuable and moſt important intereſts were concerned. The commotion was ſo univerſal, that the new opinions would in all probability have triumphed totally over the old, had not the magiſtracy thought it their intereſt to ſtem the torrent. Implicit obedience was as neceſſary for the ſupport of the ſupreme power, as for that of religion, and was the ſureſt foundation of its authority; that power began therefore to be alarmed leſt thoſe who had overturned the old and firm foundations of the Roman hierarchy, might next proceed to examine into its own prerogatives. The republican ſpirit which naturally ſpread itſelf among

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among the reformed, contributed to increaſe this diſtruſt.

The kings of Spain, more jealous of their power than other ſovereigns, endeavoured to ſupport it, by eſtabliſhing a more uniform ſyſtem of ſuperſtition. They were not ſenſible that the opinions of men concerning an unknown Being cannot be all the ſame. In vain did reaſon expoſtulate with thoſe weak monarchs, alledging that no power had a right to preſcribe to men what they were to think; that ſociety, in order to ſupport itſelf, is under no neceſſity of reſtraining the freedom of the ſoul; that to compel men to ſubſcribe to certain articles of faith, is to exact a falſe oath, which makes a man a traitor to his conſcience, in order that he may be a faithful ſubject; and that a citizen who ſerves his country, is, in a political light, preferable to him who is orthodox to no purpoſe. Theſe permanent and inconteſtable principles were not attended to. They were overruled by the proſpect of great advantage, and ſtill more by the furious clamours of a multitude of fanatical prieſts, who delayed not to aſſume the ſupreme authority. The prince, thus reduced to become their ſlave, was forced to abandon his ſubjects to their caprices; to ſuffer them to be oppreſſed, and to become an idle ſpectator of the cruelty exerciſed againſt them. From that time, ſuperſtitious manners, beneficial only to the prieſthood, became prejudicial to ſociety. A people thus corrupt and degenerate, were the moſt cruel

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of any. Their obedience to the monarch was subordinate to the will of the prieſt; who oppreſſed every other power, and was in fact the ſovereign of the ſtate. BOOK VIII.

INACTION was the neceſſary conſequence of a ſuperſtition that enervated all the faculties of the ſoul. The project which the Romans formed from their very infancy of becoming maſters of the world, ſhewed itſelf even in their religion. It was Victory, Bellona, Fortune, the genius of the Roman people, Rome herſelf that were their gods. A nation that endeavoured to imitate their example, and thought of becoming conquerors, adopted a monkiſh government, which has deſtroyed every proſpect of ſucceſs, and will effectually prevent their reſtoration either in Spain or America, unleſs this kind of government is totally ſubverted, and every idea of the horror it excites obliterated with it. The ſuppreſſion of the inquiſition muſt certainly haſten this great change; and it is a pleaſing expectation to think that if the court of Madrid will not determine upon this neceſſary ſtep, they will one day be compelled to it by a humane conqueror, who will inſert it as the firſt article in a treaty of peace, that *the autos-de-fé ſhall be aboliſhed in all the Spaniſh dominions both in Europe and America.*

THIS ſtep is neceſſary towards the reſtoration of the monarchy, but it is not alone ſufficient. Tho' Spain has employed more art to conceal her weakneſs, than was neceſſary to enable her to acquire ſtrength,

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ſtrength, the world is not unacquainted with the diſorders ſhe labours under. They have taken ſo deep a root and are of ſo inveterate a nature, that they cannot be remedied without foreign aids. If ſhe will but ſubmit to accept them, ſhe will ſoon ſee her provinces in both hemiſpheres filled with new inhabitants, who will bring with them numberleſs branches of induſtry. The northern and ſouthern nations, actuated by that paſſion for riches which is the characteriſtic of the preſent age, will reſort in multitudes to the regions that are thrown open to excite their emulation. The riches of the public will increaſe in proportion to thoſe of individuals; and thoſe which have been acquired by foreigners will become a national wealth, if they are permitted to enjoy them with that ſecurity, ſatisfaction, and diſtinction, as to induce them to forget their native country.

If the Spaniards are deſirous of bringing this important plan to perfection with all poſſible expedition, they muſt not only admit ſtrangers of their own perſuaſion, but encourage every ſect without diſtinction to come and ſettle among them. They have too long thought that liberty of conſcience was a moſt impious doctrine, and that toleration was even prejudicial conſidered in a political light; becauſe the fundamental principle of all ſects is to hate each other, and gradually to throw thoſe governments where their numbers are increaſed into confuſion. If the pagans had reaſoned in this manner, chriſtianity would never have been

been eſtabliſhed; at leaſt it is evident that their perſecutions againſt the founders of our religion would need no apology. BOOK VIII.

When the Spaniards have once procured a ſufficient number of men, they will then think of employing them in the moſt advantageous manner. The anxiety they felt to ſee the treaſures of America paſs into the hands of their rivals and enemies, made them imagine that the revival of their manufactures was the only method that could enable them to retain part of thoſe treaſures at home. Such of their writers upon finance as have inſiſted upon this ſyſtem, appear to us to be miſtaken. As long as the people who are in poſſeſſion of thoſe manufactures which ſerve to ſupply the demands of America, will attend to the preſervation of them, thoſe which may be attempted to be eſtabliſhed in other parts, will ſcarce be able to vie with them. Theſe manufactures may poſſibly procure the materials and workmanſhip at as reaſonable a rate: but ſome centuries muſt paſs before they can be able to attain to the ſame degree of quickneſs and perfection in the work. Nothing could effect this great change, but ſuch a revolution as would remove the beſt foreign workmen and the moſt ſkilful artiſts to Spain. Till this period arrives, which does not ſeem very near, any attempts that are made, will not be ſucceſsful. The prohibition to prevent the exportation of unwrought commodities affords a convincing and inſtructive proof of this. The good-

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neſs of ſilks has on this account conſiderably decreaſed; and the manufacture of them begun to be neglected, and would have been entirely loſt, had not government prudently reſtored trade to its ancient freedom.

We may proceed ſtill further, and venture to affirm, that though it ſhould be in the power of Spain to procure a ſuperiority in the manufactures reſpecting articles of luxury, ſhe ought not to do it. A tranſient ſucceſs would be productive of total ruin. Let us ſuppoſe that Spain can furniſh all the commodities that are wanted in her colonies; the immenſe treaſures this trade will bring in, will all center in home circulation, and the conſequence will be, that the coin will ſink in value. This plenty of ſpecie will certainly occaſion a dearneſs of proviſions, and enhance the price of labour. There will be no proportion between the price Spain muſt require for her manufactures, and that which the neighbouring nations will ſell theirs for. Theſe, being able to afford their commodities cheaper, will oblige the Spaniards to take them, becauſe an exorbitant profit will ſurmount every obſtacle. The Spaniſh artificers, deſtitute of employment, will be reduced to the neceſſity of ſeeking for it in other places, and Spain will loſe both her induſtry and her population.

Since then it is impoſſible that the Spaniards ſhould keep the whole produce of the American mines in their own hands, and ſince they muſt unavoidably ſhare it with the reſt of Europe, they ſhould

ſhould exert all their policy to preſerve the greateſt part of it, to make the balance incline in their favour, and to render their advantages permanent, they muſt be ſatisfied with ſuch as are moderate. They will ſecure to themſelves ſuch a ſuperiority by the practice of the neceſſary arts, and the plenty and goodneſs of their natural productions.

The Spaniſh miniſtry have been ſenſible of this truth, but have been deceived in the opinion they entertained that the manufactures were the chief promoters of agriculture. It is certain, however, that they contribute to promote the culture of lands. They are even neceſſary, wherever the expence of tranſport puts a ſtop to the circulation and conſumption of the produce, ſo that the cultivator is at a loſs how to diſpoſe of his commodities. But in all other caſes, the farmer can ſucceed without the aſſiſtance of manufactures. If he can but diſpoſe of his produce, he is under no concern whether it is for local conſumption, or for trade and exportation, and will go on with his tillage.

Spain annually ſells for exportation, in wool, ſilk, oil, wine, iron and kali, to the amount of above thirty millions of livres.* Theſe exports, moſt of which cannot be replaced from any ſoil in Europe, may be greatly increaſed, and might, probably, be more than doubled. They will be ſufficient, independent of what the Spaniards receive from the Indies, to pay for all the foreign goods that can be conſumed

* 1,312,500l.

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consumed in the nation. We grant that by thus sending their unwrought produce to other countries, they will increase their population, wealth, and power; but they will promote a more certain and more beneficial kind of industry at home. Their political influence will soon claim a relative superiority, and the nation employed in agriculture will soon become greater than that which confines itself to manufactures.

AMERICA will greatly increase these advantages; and will be beneficial to Spain, both by her gold and silver, and by her commodities.

Means which Spain ought to employ for the re-establishment of her colonies.

IT appears from the most moderate computation, that those valuable colonies have remitted to the mother country, from 1492 to 1740, that is, in the compass of 248 years, upwards of 9000,000,000 of piastres,* the smallest part of which has remained to the natural owners; the rest has been diffused all over Europe; or carried into Asia. From the first of January 1754 to the last day of December 1764, we are not reduced to conjecture in support of our opinion. Within that period, Spain has received,

FROM Vera Cruz, in gold, 3,151,354 piastres 5 reals †; and in silver, 85,899,307 piastres 2 reals. ‡

FROM Lima, in gold, 10,942,846 piastres 3 reals §; in silver, 24,868,745 piastres 3 reals ‖.

FROM

* 2,025,000,000l.
† 709,054l. 15s. 11d.
‡ 19,327,344l. 2s. 2d.
§ 2,462,140l. 8s. 9d.
‖ 5,595,467l. 14s. 3d.

FROM Buenos Ayres, in gold, 2,142,626 piaſtres 3 reals*; in ſilver, 10,326,090 piaſtres 8 reals†.

FROM Carthagena, in gold, 10,045,188 piaſtres 8 reals‡; in ſilver, 1,702,174 piaſtres 3 reals §.

FROM Honduras, in gold, 37,254 piaſtres 9 reals‖; in ſilver, 677,444 piaſtres 7 reals ¶.

FROM the Havannah, in gold, 656,064 piaſtres 3 reals*‖; in ſilver, 2,639,408 piaſtres 2 reals§‡.

FROM Caracca, in gold, 52,034 piaſtres 4 reals†¶; in ſilver, 276,002 piaſtres 6 reals‡*.

FROM St. Domingo and Porto Rico, in gold, 526 piaſtres 5 reals§†; in ſilver, 317,521 piaſtres 1 real*¶.

FROM Campeachy, Cumana and Maracaibo, in gold, 91,564 piaſtres 6 reals†§.

THIS makes in all 27,027,896 piaſtres in gold‡‖, and 126,798,258 piaſtres 8 reals ¶§ in ſilver. Theſe two ſums together, amount to a total of 153,826,154 piaſtres 8 reals*§. This ſum divided by eleven, will ſhew that the returns, upon an average, have been 13,984,185 piaſtres and 3 fourths†‖. To all theſe riches muſt be ad-



* 482,090l. 18s. 9d.
‡ 2,260,165l. 8s.
‖ 8,382l. 8s. 3d.
*‖ 147,614l. 9s. 9d.
†¶ 11,707l. 15s. 4d.
§† 118l. 9s. 11d.
†§ 20,602l. 1s. 6d.
¶§ 28,529,608l. 5s. 8d.
†‖ 3,146,441l. 19s.
† 2,323,370l. 9s. 8d.
§ 382,989l. 4s. 9d.
¶ 152,425l. 2s. 1d.
§‡ 593,866l. 17s. 2d.
‡* 62,100l. 12s. 6d.
*¶ 71,442l. 5s. 1d.
‡‖ 6,081,276l. 7s.
*§ 34,610,884l. 12s. 8d.

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ded thoſe that are not regiſtered to avoid paying duty, which may amount to ſomewhat more than one fourth of what is regiſtered; and it will appear that the mother country annually receives from her colonies about ſeventeen millions of piaſtres, or 19,250,000 livres*.

THERE would be a poſſibility of increaſing this produce. For this purpoſe the government ſhould ſend over to America ſome perſons ſkilled in metallurgy, and make the condition eaſier on which they allow the working of the mines. But this would be only a tranſient advantage, ſince it is undeniable that gold and ſilver are not to be conſidered as riches, but only as the repreſentatives of them. Theſe ſigns are indeed very durable, as they ought to be to anſwer their deſtination. But the more they are multiplied, the more they loſe of their value, becauſe they ſerve to repreſent fewer things. In proportion as they are become more common ſince the diſcovery of America, every thing is increaſed in value twice, thrice, and four times beyond what it was before. The produce of the mines has conſtantly decreaſed, and the expence of working them has been continually greater. The balance, which inclines more and more to the loſing ſide, may ſo far deſtroy the equipoiſe, that it may be found neceſſary to drop this ſource of wealth. But at all events, it will be adviſeable to render theſe operations more ſimple, and to try every poſſible method to make this labour

* About 3,904,600l.

bour less destructive to the human race than it has hitherto been. There is another source of prosperity for Spain, which will be so far from decreasing, that it will daily gather new strength; and that is agriculture. BOOK VIII.

All nations have found it dangerous to allow the establishments of manufactures in their possessions in America, but they have all encouraged agriculture by every possible means. If Spain should adopt so rational a principle, she will probably save twelve or thirteen millions of livres* that are annually expended in the single article of spices. It is hardly possible that in all that vast extent of land and that variety of climates there should not be some Spots in America fit for the culture of cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and the other aromatic productions of Asia. It is certain that cinnamon grows at Quito, and cultivation might give it the properties it wants.

Whether these experiments succeed or not, coffee may certainly be cultivated there, the use of which becomes daily more general in Europe; as well as cotton, to supply the frequent demands of our manufactures; and sugars, which Spain buys to the amount of above five millions† a year, while she ought to supply all Europe with it.

Many provinces of Mexico formerly produced excellent silks, which were manufactured at Seville. This produce, however, has been lost, by



* 525,000 or 568,750l. † 218,750l.

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the numberleſs obſtructions it has met with; but it might eaſily be revived and improved.

THE Vicuna wool is in great repute in all nations. The quantity which the fleets bring home, is far from being ſufficient to anſwer the demands for it. The ſort of ſheep that bears this fine wool, might eaſily be multiplied in the climates that are fitteſt for them.

THE exceſſive dearneſs of cochineal, and the great demand there is for it every where, points out to Spain the neceſſity of multiplying it.

BUT the cultivation of the vine and the olive tree, which is allowed only in one part of Peru, ſhould be principally encouraged. Some ſmall wandering nations might be fixed by employing them in this labour. If they were properly diſtributed, they would ſerve to eſtabliſh an intercourſe between the ſeveral colonies, now ſeparated by immenſe and uninhabited regions. The laws, which never have any power over men who are at too great a diſtance from each other and from the magiſtrate, could then be enforced. Commerce would not be perpetually interrupted by the impoſſibility of conveying the goods to the place of their deſtination, even at a great expence. In caſe of a war, early notice would be given of the danger, and ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance procured. If Spain were by this plan deprived of ſome few exports this trifling loſs would be greatly overbalanced by very conſiderable advantages. The eaſieſt part of the labour we recommend would fall

fall to the lot of the natives, who are too indolent, and, perhaps, too weak, to go through harder work. The reſt would be reſerved for the more active robuſt African ſlaves. BOOK VIII.

THIS foreign aid was thought of in the firſt years after the diſcovery of America, but was ſoon prohibited from an apprehenſion that the blacks corrupted the Americans, and might excite them to revolt. Las Caſas, who inceſſantly laboured to promote the happineſs of the Indians, obtained a repeal of that law, as thinking it prejudicial to their preſervation. At that period, a favourite obtained an excluſive grant for carrying four thouſand negroes to the Caribbee iſlands. He ſold his privilege to the Genoeſe, who made an ill uſe of their monopoly. This ſcandalous trade was ſucceſſively in the hands of the Caſtilians, the Portugueſe, the French, and the Engliſh. It is at laſt returned to the Spaniards, who carry it on in the leaſt advantageous way for the benefit of their country. Their moſt dangerous enemies become their agents, and all their connections are with Britiſh ſubjects.

IF political conſiderations can juſtify a trade ſo repugnant to humanity, Spain ought to carry it on without the aſſiſtance of foreign countries; and muſt not be diſcouraged by the want of forts on the coaſt of Africa. This obſtacle may be ſurmounted by receiving directly from the Eaſt-Indies the commodities that are fit for the barbarous regions of Africa; by giving bounties to encourage the introduction

BOOK VIII.

troduction of negroes in the Spaniſh colonies, inſtead of clogging it with duties. Then thoſe countries, which have for ſo long a time been in a declining ſtate will flouriſh again; and their productions, which at preſent do not exceed twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight millions of livres* a year, will then be extended as much as the conſumption of Spain and of all Europe will admit them to be.

When government has ſucceſsfully turned its attention towards bringing the working of the mines to a greater degree of perfection, and to the improvement of agriculture in the American provinces, it will then be neceſſary to conſider how theſe riches may be tranſmitted to the mother-country. Experience muſt have taught her that the vigilance of her guarda coſtas, and the fidelity of her commanders are often and eaſily eluded by the contraband trade.

All the nations whoſe ſettlements are near the Spaniſh colonies, have always endeavoured, by fraudulent means, to appropriate to themſelves the treaſures and produce of that indolent nation. The Portugueſe have turned their views towards the river Plata; the Danes, the French, and the Dutch, upon the coaſt of Carthagena and Porto-Bello. The ſubjects of Great Britain, who were not ignorant of theſe different means have found that the ceſſions made to them by the laſt treaty, have opened to them a new method of getting a larger

* On an average 1,283,125l.

larger ſhare of thoſe rich ſpoils. All theſe nations have ſucceeded in their attempts, by deceiving or bribing the guarda coſtas; but the Engliſh, ſure of being countenanced by government, have carried on in full peace, and by force of arms an illicit trade in foreign countries, which in their own is puniſhed with death. This kind of trade is ſo openly authoriſed by their naval force, that there is actually a public contract between the navy and the merchants, by which the man of war is entitled to five per cent. on the ſale made by the ſmuggler, as a reward for protecting him.



THE governors are ſtill more remiſs in their duty than the guarda coſtas. Though corruption is carried to very great exceſs in Spain, it is ſtill greater in the Indies. The viceroys as well as the loweſt cuſtom-houſe officers, who are ſent to America, are all equally deſtitute of the ſmalleſt ſentiments of patriotiſm. They have all bought their places; and are deſirous of making the greateſt advantage of them; every one is in haſte to make his fortune, the only motive that induced him to leave his country; all want to have an adequate compenſation for the danger they have expoſed themſelves to by a change of climate. It is neceſſary for them to improve every inſtant of time, as they ſeldom keep their places longer than three or five years. One would imagine the court of Madrid, not being able to prevent this extortion, has endeavoured to render it leſs odious, by making it more general.

BOOK VIII.

Every mode of acquiring riches is deemed lawful. The most common is to permit the contraband trade, and even to be concerned in it. It is easy, expeditious and pleasant. In America none oppose it, because it suits every person. If the complaints of some European merchants reach the court, they are easily silenced by proper gratuities to ministers, confessors, mistresses or favourites. The delinquent not only escapes punishment, but is rewarded. Nothing is so well established or so generally known as this practice. A Spaniard just returned from America, where he had filled an important post, was complaining to a friend of the injurious reports that were spread concerning the discharge of his trust. *If you are slandered*, says his friend, *you are undone; but if your extortions are not exaggerated, you have nothing to do but to give up part of your plunder, and you will enjoy the remainder peaceably, and even with credit.*

The question is how to eradicate abuses of such a long standing. As long as the management that has given rise to them subsists, the smuggler will carry on his trade, and those who are appointed to prevent it will protect him. Spain will never restore good order, but by lowering the duties, and altering her method of intercourse with her colonies.

The Spaniards, whose situation will not admit of their manufacturing all they want to supply their American colonies, must appropriate to themselves the labours of every nation in Europe. They must

must consider themselves as merchants in the midst of manufacturers. They must supply them with materials; pay them a reasonable price for their labour, by making a proper allowance for the additional value their industry has given to the natural productions; and then they must dispose of them to the best advantage to the several consumers. BOOK VIII.

These maxims are too simple in themselves to have escaped them; but they have made a wrong application of them. That they have always been misled by their wants or their avidity of gain. They have constantly separated the interests of the crown from those of the people, and, therefore have found no impropriety in laying the duties too high. None of their ministers seem to have considered, that the riches of the people are the true riches of the state. Possibly, they may have been so infatuated as to imagine, that the burden of these duties fell upon the original owners of the merchandise. We can hardly doubt their acting upon this principle, when we see that every intimation for lowering the duties has been rejected, as ruinous to the monarchy. That pernicious spirit of finance, which daily becomes more injurious to the trade of Europe, has checked the direct intercourse that was formerly carried on between the mother country and her colonies. The contraband trade has increased in proportion as the duties have been raised; but it will be put an end to, whenever the tariff is settled at a moderate rate,

and

BOOK VIII. and navigation is freed from thoſe fetters which obſtruct its progreſs.

THOSE who are of opinion that the common method of fleets and galleons is the beſt, have been miſled by their prejudices in favour of cuſtom, which is ſo apt to govern the opinions of moſt men. They were not aware that this tedious method would neceſſarily prove deſtructive. The illicit traders, informed by their emiſſaries of the wants of the colonies, and abundantly provided with all they can be in need of, always arrive before the Spaniſh ſhips, who, finding the ſtorehouſes full, are forced to ſell their goods under prime coſt; or, which is ſtill worſe, cannot diſpoſe of them at all. If, to prevent this inconvenience, they are ſent out later, this is an additional encouragement to the ſmugglers, whoſe magazines being conſtantly ſupplied with freſh merchandiſe, can never be exhauſted.

To prevent this deſtructive competition, it has often been propoſed to the Spaniſh government to eſtabliſh trading companies for the commerce of America; but the court of Madrid has always rejected this ſcheme, as a pernicious monoply, worſe, perhaps, than the toleration of an illicit trade. Though ignorant of the true principles of commerce, they were ſenſible that excluſive privileges, always prejudicial even to the moſt active nations, muſt neceſſarily prove ruinous to one, whoſe induſtry is not ſufficiently excited.

No-

NOTHING but an entire freedom in the trade from Cadiz, can put an effectual ſtop to ſmuggling, and give commerce the advantage of being extended as far as poſſible. It is the intereſt of Spain, as well as of all other nations that have colonies in America, to ſend thither great quantities of the produce and commodities of Europe, and to bring home much of thoſe of America. Theſe meaſures are inſeparably connected. The one is impoſſible without the other, and both are inconſiſtent with reſtraint.

THE colonies will find a great advantage in this ſyſtem, which will bring plenty into their ports. A competition among many ſellers has ever been and will always be advantageous to the purchaſer.

BY this happy change, the mother country will ſilence the murmurs of ſome perſons, who have grown diſcontented either becauſe they have been left unprovided with the neceſſaries of life, or have been forced to pay an extravagant price for them. The cheapneſs of commodities will occaſion the fall of ſome manufactures, which had been eſtabliſhed from mere neceſſity, and which could not be ſafely aboliſhed by authority. Spain will turn the labours of induſtry towards agriculture, which will then become, as it ought to be, the moſt profitable employment. Laſtly, her navigation will be increaſed twice or three times beyond its preſent ſtate, for it is now ſo ſlow in its operations, as to endanger public property, and too often expoſe it to fall into the hands of an enemy.

ALL

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All the European nations that are in the leaſt concerned in this trade, will carry it on to better advantage. If the method of doing this by a fleet of ſhips, which limits the quantity of goods that may be ſhipped at Cadiz, is more favourable to the few merchants concerned in that buſineſs, a freedom to every one to ſend over as much as he pleaſes, on paying the duties, will reduce the price and increaſe the conſumption of the commodities. Trade will then be conſiderably increaſed in Europe. The profit of each nation will be greater, though that of each private man will be leſs. The firſt of theſe advantages is infinitely preferable to the laſt.

We are ſenſible that this free trade, which we think abſolutely neceſſary, will no ſooner be opened, but it will be carried to exceſs by a boundleſs emulation. This muſt be expected from the eagerneſs and imprudence of the merchants. Perhaps, it may be beneficial. The mother country will have exported a greater quantity of her produce, and received richer returns. The coloniſts, encouraged by the cheapneſs of the commodities, will allow themſelves ſome indulgencies they never could yet afford, will feel new wants, and conſequently will apply themſelves to new labours. Traders, warned by the loſs of part of their capital, will become more induſtrious, circumſpect, and diligent in their expeditions. Even admitting that too great a competition might prove a real evil, it could never be a laſting one. To endeavour to pre-

prevent this by laws that would be deſtructive of all freedom, would be to prevent a fortunate revolution by a perpetual oppreſſion. As ſoon as Spain is undeceived, the trade of her colonies will no longer be a mere monopoly, her religion mere ſuperſtition, nor her government an abſolute tyranny. Her good example, and a happy rivalſhip, may, poſſibly, induce Portugal, whoſe conduct has not hitherto appeared more enlightened than that of Spain, to adopt the ſame plan of reformation, with regard to the Brazils.



END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

BOOK

# BOOK IX.

*Settlement of the Portugueſe in the Brazils. The wars they have ſuſtained there. Produce and riches of that country.*

BOOK IX.

Diſcovery of the Brazils by the Portugueſe.

BRAZIL is an immenſe continent in South America. It is bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the South by Paraguay, on the weſt by a long ridge of mountains that divide it from Peru, and on the eaſt by the northern ocean. The extent of the ſea-coaſt is ſuppoſed to be no leſs than twelve hundred leagues. The inland parts are too little known to enable us to form any eſtimate of their extent. A ſucceſſion of hills runs all along from north to ſouth, from whence iſſue many large rivers, ſome of which fall into the ocean, and ſome into the Plata.

If Columbus, in his third voyage in 1499, had continued his courſe to the ſouth, when he came to the entrance of the Oronooko, he could not poſſibly have miſſed the Brazils; but he choſe to

ſteer

steer to the north-west, towards the gulph that lies between that river and Florida. The settlements already made there, the gold they produced, and the hopes of finding a way to the East Indies, were so many inducements to pursue that track. BOOK IX.

PETER ALVAREZ CABRAL had the honour of discovering the Brazils the following year by chance. This Portuguese admiral was going with a fleet beyond the Cape of Good Hope. To avoid falling in with the calms on the coast of Africa, he kept so far out at sea, that he came within sight of an unknown land lying to westward. He was driven thither by stress of weather, and anchored on the coast in the 15th degree of south latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took possession of the country, but made no settlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, because the Brazil wood was the most valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who used it in dying.

As this country had been discovered in going to India, and it was doubtful whether it was not a part of that, it was at first comprised under the same general title, but was distinguished by the appellation of West Indies, because the Portuguese went to India by the east, and to the Brazils by the west. This name was afterwards given to all America, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians.

THUS

BOOK IX.

THUS it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philoſophers, who have been deſirous of tracing the origin of theſe names from nature, and not from circumſtances merely incidental, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the things denoted by them. Nothing can be more ſtrange, for inſtance, than to ſee Europe tranſplanted into America, and there regenerated as it were, in the names and forms of our European cities, and in the laws, manners, and religion of our continent. But ſooner or later the climate will reſume its influence, and reinſtate things in their proper order and with their original names, though with thoſe veſtiges of the change they have undergone, which a great revolution always leaves behind it. Is it not probable that in three or four thouſand years hence, the hiſtory of America at this preſent period will be as confuſed, and as inexplicable to its inhabitants, as the hiſtory of Europe previous to the riſe of the Roman republic is obſcure to us? Thus it is that men, the knowledge they have acquired, and the conjectures they have formed either with reſpect to events that are paſſed, or to future tranſactions, are all ſubject to the laws and motions of nature, who purſues her own courſe, without paying the leaſt regard either to our projects or to our opinions.

NOTHING can afford us a more convincing proof of this great truth, than the imprudence and uncertainty

certainty of all the designs and actions of men even in their most important undertakings, the blindness with which their inquiries are pursued, and more especially the improper use they make of their discoveries. As soon as the court of Lisbon had ordered a survey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers, and coasts of Brazil, and was convinced that the country afforded neither gold nor silver, they held it in such contempt that they sent thither none but condemned criminals and abandoned women.

Account of the first colonists sent by Portugal to the Brazils.

Two ships were sent every year from Portugal, to carry the refuse of the kingdom to this new world, and to bring home parrots, and woods for the dyers and cabinet-makers. Ginger was afterwards added, but was soon prohibited, lest it should interfere with the sale of the same article from India.

Asia was then the object that attracted all men. It was the road to fortune, to power and to fame. The great exploits of the Portuguese in India, and the wealth they brought from thence, gave their nation such a superiority in all parts of the world, that every individual wished to partake of it. The enthusiasm was general. No person, indeed, went over voluntarily to America, but those unfortunate men whom the inquisition had doomed to destruction were added to the convicts already transported thither.

There never was a stronger and more inveterate hatred than that which the Portuguese have

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always entertained againſt the Spaniards. Notwithſtanding this national antipathy, which is of ſo long a ſtanding that its origin cannot be traced, and ſo confirmed that it can never be expected to ceaſe, they have borrowed moſt of their maxims from a neighbour, whoſe power they dreaded as much as they deteſted its manners. Whether from a ſimilarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumſtances, they have adopted the worſt of its inſtitutions. They could not imitate any one more horrid than the inquiſition.

This bloody tribunal, erected in Spain in 1482, by a combination of policy and fanaticiſm, under the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella, was no ſooner adopted by John III, than it ſtruck terror into every family. To eſtabliſh its authority, and afterwards to ſupport it, no leſs than four or five hundred victims were annually ſacrificed, a tenth part of which was burnt alive, and the reſt baniſhed to Africa or to the Brazils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted againſt thoſe who were ſuſpected of ſodomy; a crime of later date in the kingdom, and almoſt unavoidable in hot climates, where celibacy prevails. It alſo proſecuted ſorcerers, who, in thoſe times of ignorance were as much dreaded, as their number was multiplied by the credulity, bigotry, and barbariſm that prevailed all over Europe. The Mohammedans, though greatly decreaſed ſince they had loſt the empire, were alſo perſecuted by the inquiſition; but

but more eſpecially the Jews, becauſe they were the richeſt. BOOK IX.

It is is well known that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a very ſmall ſpot upon the face of the earth, were diſperſed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were ſuffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had recovered its independence. This firſt act of oppreſſion did not prevent twenty thouſand Jewiſh families from removing thither, when after the conqueſt of Granada, the catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain or change their religion. Each family paid twenty livres* for the liberty of ſettling in Portugal. Superſtition ſoon induced John II. to aggravate the ſufferings of that perſecuted nation: he demanded of them 20,000 crowns†, and afterwards reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery. In 1496, Emanuel baniſhed all thoſe who refuſed to embrace the chriſtian religion; thoſe who complied were reſtored to their freedom, and ſoon engroſſed the Aſiatic trade, which then began to be laid open to every one. The eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in 1548, proved a check to their activity. Their miſtruſt was increaſed by the frequent confiſcations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them at different times. They were in hopes of purchaſing ſome



* 17s. 6d. † 2,625l.

BOOK IX. tranquillity, by furniſhing Sebaſtian with 250,000 livres * for his African expedition; but unfortunately for them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II. who ſoon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted that ſuch of his ſubjects as were deſcended from a Jew or a Moor, ſhould be excluded from all eccleſiaſtical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new converts to Chriſtianity were branded, gave them ſuch a diſguſt for a country where even the greateſt opulence could not exempt them from being ſtigmatized, that they removed with their wealth to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburgh, and other towns with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occaſion of a great revolution; it diverted the commerce, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, into other countries, and deprived thoſe two nations of the advantages the one derived from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt-Indies.

BEFORE theſe laſt periods, the Jews who had been ſtripped of their property by the inquiſition, and baniſhed to the Brazils, were not yet entirely forſaken. Many of them found kind relations and faithful friends; others, who were known to be men of probity and underſtanding, obtained money in advance from merchants of different nations with whom they had formerly had tranſactions. By this aſſiſtance ſome enterpriſing men among them were

* About 10,940l.

were enabled to cultivate ſugar canes, which they firſt procured from the iſland of Madeira.

Sugar, which till then on account of its ſcarcity had been uſed only in medicine, became an article of luxury. Princes, and the rich and great, were all eager to procure themſelves this new ſpecies of indulgence. This circumſtance proved favourable to Brazil, and enabled it to extend its ſugar plantations. The court of Liſbon, notwithſtanding its prejudices, began to be ſenſible that a colony might be beneficial to the mother country, without producing gold or ſilver. It now looked with leſs contempt on an immenſe region that chance had thrown in its way, and which it had always conſidered as a place fit only to contain the refuſe of the kingdom. This ſettlement, which had been wholly left to the capricious management of the coloniſts, was now thought to deſerve ſome kind of attention, and accordingly Thomas de Souſa was ſent thither in 1549, to regulate and ſuperintend it.

This able governor began by reducing theſe men, who had always lived in a ſtate of anarchy, into proper ſubordination, and bringing their ſcattered plantations cloſer together; after which, he applied himſelf to acquire ſome information reſpecting the natives, with whom he knew he muſt be inceſſantly engaged, either in traffic or in war. It was no eaſy matter to accompliſh this.

Brazil was full of ſmall nations, ſome of which inhabited the foreſts, and others lived in the plains

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and along the rivers. Some had ſettled habitations, but a greater number led a roving life. Moſt of them had no intercourſe with each other. Thoſe that were not divided by inceſſant wars, were ſo by hereditary hatred and jealouſy. Some lived by hunting and fiſhing, others by agriculture. All theſe cauſes muſt have produced a viſible difference in the employments and cuſtoms of theſe ſeveral nations; yet their general character was very ſimilar.

Character and cuſtoms of the Brazilians.

THE Brazilians in general are of the ſize of the Europeans, but not ſo ſtout. The are ſubject to fewer diſtempers, and it is no uncommon thing among them to ſee men live upwards of a hundred years. Formerly they wore no clothing, but ſince the Europeans have become acquainted with them, they commonly cover the middle part of their bodies. The ornaments of the women differ from thoſe of the men, for they wear their hair extremely long, whereas the women cut theirs quite ſhort; the women wear bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the ſame; the women paint their faces, and the men their bodies.

THOUGH the language of the Topinambous is generally ſpoken all along the ſea-coaſts, yet every nation on that vaſt continent has its own peculiar idiom. Some of theſe languages are ſaid to be expreſſive, but they are none of them copious, neither have they any words to convey general and abſtract ideas. This poverty of language, which

is

is common to all nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progreſs the human underſtanding has made in theſe countries. The analogy between the words in the ſeveral languages of this continent ſhews that the reciprocal tranſmigrations of theſe ſavages have been frequent. Poſſibly by comparing their languages with thoſe of Africa, of the Eaſt-Indies and of Europe, the origin of the Americans may one day be traced, after the long and fruitleſs ſearch, which has hitherto employed the labours of ſo many learned men.



In ancient times the food of the Brazilians was very ſimple. It might have been expected to have been more varied when they came to be acquainted with our domeſtic animals; yet thoſe who live by the ſea ſide ſtill continue to feed upon the ſhell-fiſh they pick up on the ſhore. Along the rivers they always live by fiſhing, and in the foreſts by hunting. When theſe precarious proviſions fail, they feed upon roots, that either grow ſpontaneouſly, or require but little culture.

These ſavages are averſe from all labour, and paſs their time in idleneſs, eating and dancing. Their ſongs are but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turn upon their loves or their warlike actions.

Their amuſements are not interrupted by the worſhip of a ſupreme being, for they know of none; nor is their tranquillity diſturbed by the dread of a future ſtate, of which they have no idea. They have, however, their magicians, who,

BOOK IX. by ſtrange contortions, ſo far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into violent convulſions. If the impoſtures of theſe magicians are detected, they are immediately put to death, which ſerves in ſome degree to check the ſpirit of deceit.

THESE atheiſts are equally ſtrangers to all notions of ſubordination and ſubmiſſion, which among ourſelves are originally derived from the idea of a ſupreme being. They cannot conceive that any perſon can have the audacity to command, much leſs that any one can be ſo weak as to obey. But they ſhew moſt deference to the man who has killed the greateſt number of his enemies.

THE Brazilians all follow their own inclinations, and like moſt other ſavages, ſhew no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling paſſion in civilized ſtates; which in good governments riſes to enthuſiaſm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for whole centuries together perpetuates in every nation its diſpoſition, cuſtoms and taſte: this love of our country is but a factitious ſentiment ariſing from ſociety, but unknown in the ſtate of nature. The moral life of a ſavage is the very reverſe of that of the civilized man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his ſtrength increaſes and his underſtanding unfolds itſelf, he loſes ſight of the preſent, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of paſſions and pleaſures, the time deſtined by nature for enjoyment,

ment, is ſpent in ſpeculation and diſappointment. The heart denies itſelf what it wiſhes for, laments the indulgencies it has allowed itſelf, and is equally tormented by its ſelf-denials and its gratifications. The civilized man inceſſantly deploring his liberty which he has always ſacrificed, looks back with regret on his earlieſt years, when a ſucceſſion of new objects conſtantly awakened his curioſity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects with pleaſure the ſpot where he paſſed his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears them to his imagination, and forcibly attracts him to his native ſpot: whereas the ſavage, who enjoys all the pleaſures and advantages peculiar to every period of his life, and does not abſtain from them in expectation of greater indulgence in old age, finds equally in all places objects ſuited to his deſires, and feels that the ſource of his pleaſures is in himſelf, and that his country is every where.

THOUGH the tranquillity of the Brazilians is not the reſult of any laws, diſſentions are ſeldom heard of in their little ſocieties. If drunkenneſs, or ſome unfortunate incident ſhould occaſion a diſpute, and ſome life ſhould be loſt, the murderer is inſtantly delivered up to the relations of the deceaſed, who immediately ſacrifice him to their vengeance without heſitation; then both the families meet, and their reconciliation is ſealed by a joyous and noiſy feaſt.

EVERY

BOOK IX.

EVERY Brazilian takes as many wives as he pleaſes, or as many as he can get, and puts them away when he is tired of them. When they violate their marriage vow, they are puniſhed with death, and the huſband does not become an object of ridicule on account of the injury his wife has done him. When the women lie in, they keep their bed but a day or two; then the mother hanging the child to her neck in a cotton ſcarf, returns to her uſual occupations without any kind of inconvenience.

TRAVELLERS are received with diſtinguiſhed marks of civility in the Brazils. Wherever they come, they are ſurrounded with women, who waſh their feet, and welcome them with the moſt obliging expreſſions. Nothing is ſpared for their entertainment; but it would be an unpardonable affront, were they to leave the family where they were firſt entertained, in hopes of better accommodation in another. This ſpirit of hoſpitality is one of the moſt certain indications that man was intended for ſociety: it is the moſt valuable diſpoſition of the ſavage nations; and the point where the improvement of policy, and of all ſocial inſtitutions ought, perhaps, to reſt.

THE Brazilians aſſiſt one another in ſickneſs with more than brotherly kindneſs and affection. If one of them receives a wound, his neighbour immediately comes and ſucks it, and performs every other office of humanity with the ſame readineſs. They do not neglect the uſe of the healing

ing plants that grow in their foreſts; but they trust more to abſtinence than to medicine, and never allow their ſick to taſte any food. BOOK IX.

FAR from ſhewing that indifference or weakneſs which makes us ſhun the dead, and makes us unwilling to ſpeak of them, or to remain in the places that might recall their image to our minds; theſe ſavages behold their dead with tender emotions, recount their exploits with complacency, and celebrate their virtues with tranſport. They are buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceaſed was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces and his arms are interred with him. When a clan removes to another place, which often happens merely for the ſake of changing, every family fixes ſome remarkable ſtones over the graves of their moſt reſpectable relations, and they never approach thoſe monuments of grief without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the ſhouts with which they make the air reſound when they are going to battle.

MOTIVES of intereſt or ambition have never prompted the Brazilians to war. The deſire of avenging their relations or friends, has always been the occaſion of their moſt ſanguinary conteſts. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, are old men, who determine the commencement of hoſtilities, give the ſignal for marching, and exert themſelves during the march, in repeated expreſſions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army is ſuſpended to liſten to theſe paſſionate

BOOK IX.

paſſioate harangues, that laſt for many hours. This cuſtom makes thoſe long ſpeeches we meet with in Homer, and in the Roman hiſtorians appear more probable; but in thoſe days, the noiſe of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals.

THE combatants are armed with a club of ebony, ſix feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows are of the ſame wood. Their inſtruments of martial muſic are flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They are equally calculated to inſpire courage, as our drums, which ſtifle our ſenſe of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the ſignal, and, perhaps, the fear of death. Their generals are the ſoldiers who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in former wars.

WHEN the aggreſſor arrives on the enemy's frontiers, the women who carry the proviſions halt, while the warriors advance through the woods. The attack is never made openly. They conceal themſelves at ſome diſtance from the habitations, that they may have the advantage of a ſurpriſe on their enemies. When it is dark, they ſet fire to the huts, and avail themſelves of the confuſion this occaſions, to ſatisfy their fury that knows no bounds. Thoſe who cannot avoid coming to open fight, divide into platoons and lie in ambuſh. If they are diſcovered and routed by ſuperior forces, they hide themſelves in the deepeſt receſſes of the woods. Their courage ſeldom conſiſts in maintaining their ground.

THE

THE ambition of the Brazilians is to make a great many priſoners. Theſe are brought home to the conqueror's village, where they are ſlain and eaten with ſolemnity. The feaſts laſts a long time, and during the continuance of it, the old men exhort the young to become intrepid warriors, that they may extend the glory of their nation, and often procure themſelves ſuch an honourable repaſt. This inclination for human fleſh is never ſo prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour ſuch of their enemies as have fallen in battle; they only eat thoſe who have been taken alive, and afterwards put to death with certain ceremonies. It ſhould ſeem that the ſpirit of revenge alone could give a taſte for food which human nature abhors.

THE treatment of priſoners of war has varied according to the degree of perfection human reaſon has gradually attained. The moſt civilized nations ranſom them, exchange or reſtore them at the concluſion of a war. Nations that are not yet completely civilized, claim them as their property, and make them ſlaves. The common ſavages maſſacre them without putting them to torture. The moſt ſavage people of all, torture, kill, and eat them. This is their law of nations.

THIS anthropophagy, however, is ſometimes a kind of malady or taſte, that ſeizes ſome individuals even among the mildeſt ſavages. Theſe ſpecies of aſſaſſins, or lunatics, whichever we pleaſe to call them, withdraw from their hord, and lurk alone in ſome corner of a foreſt, where they lie in

BOOK IX. in wait for the paſſenger, as huntſmen or ſavages do for game, drag him in, kill and devour him.

When this diſpoſition is not a malady, the taſting of human fleſh in the ſacrifices made of priſoners, and a habit of indolence, may be reckoned among the cauſes of this private anthropophagy. The civilized man lives by labour, and the ſavage by the chace. Among us, ſtealing is the readieſt and eaſieſt way of acquiring. Among the ſavages, killing a man, and eating him if his fleſh is good, is the eaſieſt way of hunting. A man is much ſooner killed than an animal. Among us, an indolent man wants money, and will not take the pains to earn it. Among the ſavages, an indolent man wants to eat, and will not take the pains to go a hunting; and the ſame vice leads both to the ſame crime; for in all countries lazineſs is a conſumer of men; and in this view, anthropophagy is ſtill more common in ſociety than in the foreſts of America. If ever we have an opportunity of examining thoſe among the ſavages who are addicted to anthropophagy, we ſhall find them weak, cowardly, lazy, and given up to the ſame vices as our murderers and vagrants are.

We know that if opulence is the parent of vice, poverty is the parent of crimes; and this principle holds as true in the foreſts as in cities. The opulence of a ſavage conſiſts in plenty of game; his poverty in a ſcarcity of it. Now, the crimes that poverty tempts men to commit are theft and murder.

der. The civilized man robs and murders that he may live; the savage kills that he may eat.

When this disposition is a malady, the physician will inform us that a savage may be affected with canine hunger, as well as a civilized man. If the savage is weak, and has not strength to go through the fatigue of procuring a sufficiency to satisfy his hunger, what will he be induced to do? He will kill his neighbour and eat him. He is able to hunt but for a certain time, but the cravings of his appetite are continual.

There are numberless disorders and natural defects, which are either attended with no ill consequence, or produce quite contrary effects in society, but which must unavoidably conduce to anthropophagy in a savage, whose sole property is his life.

All the moral defects which lead the social man to theft, must lead the savage to the same; now, the only theft a savage is tempted to commit, is on the life of another whom he thinks fit to eat.

In the Brazils, the heads of the dead are carefully preserved, and shewn to all strangers as monuments of valour and victory. The heroes of those savage nations bear their exploits imprinted on their limbs, by incisions which command respect from their countrymen. These are no golden or silken ornaments that an enemy can deprive them of. They account it an honour to have been disfigured in battle. In those regions,

a man

BOOK IX. a man rises in esteem the more he is covered with blood.

Such manners did not dispose the Brazilians to submit to the joke which the Portuguese wanted to impose upon them on their first arrival. At first, they only declined all intercourse with these strangers; but finding they were pursued in order to be made slaves, and to be employed in the labours of the field, they took the resolution to murder and devour all the Europeans they could seize upon. The friends and relations of the savages that were taken prisoners also ventured to make frequent attempts to rescue them, and were sometimes successful. This brought on an increase of enemies against the Portuguese, who were forced to attend to the double employments of labour and war.

Success of the Portuguese in the Brazils.

Sousa did not bring forces sufficient to change the situation of affairs. Indeed, by building San Salvador, he gave a center to the colony, but the honour of settling, extending, and making it really useful to the mother country, was reserved to the Jesuits who attended him. Those intrepid men, who have always been prompted by motives of religion or of ambition to undertake great actions, dispersed themselves among the Indians. Such of these missionaries as were murdered from hatred to the Portuguese name, were immediately replaced by others, who were inspired with none but sentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had never

ver had any idea of forgiveneſs. By degrees they began to place ſome confidence in men who ſeemed to ſeek them only with a view of making them happy. Their attachment to the miſſionaries grew into a paſſionate fondneſs. When a Jeſuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themſelves in the woods along the road. As he drew near they ſallied forth, played upon their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air reſound with joyful ſongs; and in ſhort, omitted nothing that could expreſs their ſatisfaction. At the entrance of the village the old men and chief inhabitants were aſſembled, who expreſſed as much joy, but with more ſedateneſs. A little further on, ſtood the women and young girls, in a reſpectful poſture ſuitable to their ſex. Then they all joined, and conducted their father in triumph to the place where they were aſſembled. There he inſtructed them in the fundamental doctrines of religion; exhorted them to a regularity of manners, to a love of juſtice, to brotherly charity, and to an abhorrence for human blood; after which he baptiſed them.

As theſe miſſionaries were too few in number to tranſact all the buſineſs themſelves, they frequently deputed ſome of the moſt intelligent Indians in their ſtead. Theſe men, proud of ſo glorious an office, diſtributed hatchets, knives and looking glaſſes among the ſavages they met with, and repreſented the Portugueſe as a harmleſs, humane

BOOK IX. and good ſort of people. They never returned from their excurſions without bringing with them ſome of the Brazilians, who followed them from motives of curioſity. When thoſe ſavages had once ſeen the Jeſuits it was with difficulty that they ever quitted them. When they returned home, it was to invite their families and friends to come and ſhare their happineſs, and to diſplay the preſents they had received.

If any one ſhould doubt theſe happy effects of kindneſs and humanity over ſavage nations, let him only compare the progreſs the Jeſuits have made, in a very ſhort time, in South America, with what the forces and navy of Spain and Portugal have not been able to effect in the ſpace of two centuries. While multitudes of ſoldiers were employed in changing two great and civilized empires into deſerts inhabited by roving ſavages, a few miſſionaries have changed little wandering clans into ſeveral great and civilized nations. If theſe active and courageous men had been leſs infected with the ſpirit of the church of Rome; if when formed into a ſociety in the moſt intriguing and corrupt court in Europe, they had not inſinuated themſelves into other courts to influence all political events; if the chiefs of the order had not made an ill uſe of the very virtues of their members: the old and new world would ſtill have reaped the advantage of the labours of a ſet of men, who might have been made uſeful, had they been prevented from being neceſſary; and the eighteenth cen-

century would not have had cauſe to be aſhamed of the enormities that have attended the ſuppreſſion of the ſociety; nor would France at this time with a ſpirit of meanneſs and rapacity unworthy of her greatneſs, be employed in perſecuting her martyrs and apoſtles.

The Braziliians had too much cauſe of hatred againſt the Europeans, not to miſtruſt their kindneſs; but their diffidence was in ſome meaſure removed by a ſignal act of juſtice.

The Portugueſe had formed the ſettlement of St. Vincent on the ſea-coaſt, in the 24th degree of ſouth latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the mildeſt and moſt civilized nation in all the Brazils. The advantages they reaped from this connection could not reſtrain them from ſeizing upon ſeventy men to make ſlaves of them. The perſon who had committed the offence was condemned to carry the priſoners back to the place from whence he had taken them, and to make the proper excuſes for ſo heinous an inſult. Two Jeſuits who were appointed to diſpoſe the Indians to accept this ſatisfaction, which would never have been offered but at their deſire, gave notice of it to Farnacaha, the moſt reſpectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and embracing them with tears of joy; "My fathers, "ſaid he, we conſent to forget all that is paſt, "and to enter into a freſh alliance with the Por-"tugueſe; but let them for the future be more "moderate, and more obſervant of the rights of

BOOK IX. "nations. Our attachment entitles us at leaſt to "equitable proceedings. We are called barbarians, "yet we reſpect juſtice and our friends." The miſſionaries having engaged that for the future their nation ſhould more religiouſly obſerve the laws of peace and unity. Farancaha proceeded thus; "If "you doubt the faith of the Cariges, I will give "you a proof of it. I have a nephew for whom "I have a great affection; he is the hope of my "family, and the comfort of his mother; ſhe "would die with grief if ſhe were to loſe her ſon. "Yet I will deliver him to you as a hoſtage. "Take him along with you, cultivate his young "mind, take care of his education, and inſtruct "him in your religion. Let his manners be gentle "and pure. I hope, when you return, you will "inſtruct me alſo, and enlighten my mind." Many of the Cariges followed his example, and ſent their children to St. Vincent's for education. The Jeſuits were too artful not to take great advantage of this event; but it does not appear that they ever had any intention to deceive the Indians by inculcating ſubmiſſion. Avarice had not yet poſſeſſed the minds of theſe miſſionaries; and the intereſt they had at court, ſecured ſufficient reſpect in the colony, to make the ſituation of their converts a fortunate one.

THIS time of tranquillity was improved to the advancement of the ſugar-trade, by means of the ſlaves procured from Africa. That vaſt region had no ſooner been diſcovered and ſubdued by the Por-

Portugueſe, than they brought away a great number of ſlaves from thence, who are employed by the mother nountry in domeſtic ſervices and in clearing the lands. This cuſtom, one of thoſe which have moſt contributed to corrupt the character of the nation, was introduced much later in the American ſettlements, where it did not commence till about the year 1530. The number of negroes was much increaſed in America at this period. The natives did not, indeed, ſhare their labours, but they did not obſtruct them, as they did at firſt: they rather encouraged them, by devoting themſelves to leſs laborious employments, and by ſupplying the colony with ſome means of ſubſiſtence. This harmony was productive of great advantages.

Enterpriſes of the French in the Brazils.

THE proſperity of the colony, which was viſible in all the markets of Europe, excited the envy of the French. They atrempted to make ſettlements ſucceſſively at Rio-Janeiro, Rio Grande, Paraiba, and the iſland of Maragnan. Their levity would not ſuffer them to wait the uſually ſlow progreſs of new undertakings; and merely from inconſtancy and impatience, they gave up proſpects that were ſufficient to have encouraged any, except ſuch volatile ſpirits, that are as eaſily diſcouraged as they are ready to undertake. The only valuable monument we have of their fruitleſs incurſions is a dialogue which more particularly ſhews the natural good ſenſe of the ſavages, as it is written with that ſimplicity of ſtile which diſ-

BOOK IX. tinguiſhed the French language two hundred years ago; a ſimplicity in which there were graces we cannot ſtill but regret.

" THE Brazilians, ſays Lery, one of the interlocutors, being very much aſtoniſhed to ſee the " French take ſuch pains to get their wood, one " of their old men once aſked me this queſtion. " What can be the reaſon that you Frenchmen " come ſo far to get wood for firing? Is there " none in your own country? To which I anſwered yes, and a great deal too, but not ſuch as " theirs, which we did not burn as he thought; but " as they themſelves uſed it to dye their ſtrings " and their feathers, our people employed it alſo " in dying. He replied; well, but do you want " ſo great a quantity? Yes, ſaid I; for in our " country there are ſome merchants who have " more rugs and ſcarlet cloths than you ever ſaw " in this country; one of theſe will buy ſeveral " cargoes of this wood. Ha hah! ſays the ſavage, thou telleſt me wonders. Then pauſing " upon what I had been telling him, he ſaid; but " this very rich man thou talkeſt of, is he never " to die? Yes, yes, ſaid I, as well as others. " Upon which, as they are great talkers, he aſked " me again; So then when he is dead, to whom " does all the wealth he leaves belong? It goes, " ſaid I, to his children, or if he has none, to his " brothers, ſiſters, or next of kin. Truly, ſays " the old man, now I ſee that you Frenchmen are " great fools; for, muſt you work ſo hard and

" croſs

" croſs the ſea to heap riches for them that come
" after you, as if the earth that has fed you was
" not ſufficient to feed them to? We have chil-
" dren and relations whom we love, as thou ſeeſt,
" but as we are ſure that after our death, the earth
" that has provided for our ſubſiſtence will equal-
" ly provide for theirs, we are ſatisfied."

THIS mode of reaſoning, ſo natural to ſavages, who have no ambition, but ſo repugnant to civilized nations who have experienced all the ill effects of luxury and avarice, made no great impreſſion on the French. They could not withſtand the temptation of riches, which all the maritime nations in Europe thirſted after at that time. The Dutch, who were become republicans by chance, and merchants from neceſſity, were more perſevering and more ſucceſsful than the French in their attempts on the Brazils. The nation they had to contend with was not more conſiderable than their own, and like them was preparing to ſhake off the yoke of Spain, though they ſtill ſubmitted to that of a regal government.

ALL hiſtorical accounts are full of the acts of tyranny and cruelty that exited the low countries to riſe againſt Philip II. The richeſt provinces were retained or brought back under the yoke of a tyrannical government, while the pooreſt, that were in a manner under water, found means, by more than human efforts, to ſecure their independence. When their liberty was firmly eſtabliſhed, they attacked their enemy upon the remoteſt ſeas,

The Dutch ſettle in the Brazils, and after having derived conſiderable advantages from their ſituation, are driven from it.

BOOK IX. on the Indus, on the Ganges, and as far as the Moluccas, which made a part of the Spaniſh dominions ſince Portugal had been included in them. The truce of 1609 gave time to that enterpriſing and fortunate republic to bring her new projects to maturity. Theſe deſigns were manifeſted in 1621 by the eſtabliſhment of a Weſt-India Company, from which the ſame ſucceſs was expected in Africa and America, that were both compriſed in the charter, as the Eaſt-India company had experienced in Aſia.

THE capital of the new ſociety was twelve millions*; Holland furniſhed four ninths, Zealand two, the Maeſe and Weſt-Frieſland each one, and Frieſland and Groningen together one ninth. The general meeting was to be held at Amſterdam ſix years ſucceſſively, and then two years at Middleburg. The Weſt-India company, who were diſſatisfied that their privilege was not ſo extenſive as that of the Eaſt-India company, were in no haſte to begin their operations; but the ſtates put them upon the ſame footing, and then they made an attack upon the Brazils.

PRECAUTIONS had been taken to procure the neceſſary informations. Some Dutch ſhips had ventured thither, in defiance of the law that forbad the admittance of any ſtrangers. As they greatly underſold, according to the cuſtom of their country, the commodities that came from Spain, they met with a favourable reception. At their re-

* 525,000l.

return they reported, that the country was in a kind of anarchy; that foreign dominion had ſtifled in the people the love of their country; that ſelf-intereſt had corrupted their minds; that the ſoldiers were turned merchants; that they had forgotten the firſt principles of war, and that whoever ſhould appear there with a competent force, would infallibly ſurmount the trifling obſtacles that might be oppoſed to the conqueſt of that wealthy region. 

THE company committed this undertaking to Jacob Willekins in 1624. He went directly to the capital. San Salvador ſurrendered at ſight of the Dutch fleet, and the reſt of the province, which was the largeſt, richeſt and moſt populous of the colony, made little more reſiſtance.

THIS news was rather pleaſing than diſagreeable to the Spaniſh council. The miniſtry were comforted for the triumph obtained by the moſt inveterate enemies of their country, by conſidering the mortification which the Portugueſe muſt neceſſarily experience from it. Ever ſince the Spaniards had been endeavouring to oppreſs that unfortunate nation, they had met with a reſiſtance that offended the haughty ſpirit of that deſpotic government. An event that might reduce the pride of Portugal and render her more tractable, appeared to them a fortunate circumſtance. They thought themſelves at the eve of accompliſhing their purpoſe, and were fully determined to do nothing that might protract the completion of it.

THOUGH

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THOUGH Philip harboured these base sentiments, he thought the majesty of the throne required of him some outward demonstrations of decency. Accordingly he wrote to the Portuguese of the first rank, exhorting them to make such generous efforts as the present exigencies required. This they were already inclined to. Self-interest, patriotism, the desire of throwing a damp upon the joy of their tyrants; all concurred to quicken their alacrity. The monied men lavished their treasures; others raised troops; all were eager to enter into the service. In three months time twenty-six ships were fitted out, which sailed in the beginning of the year 1626, in company with those from Spain, which the tardiness and policy of that nation had made them wait for, much too long.

THE archbishop of San Salvador, Michael de Texeira, had prepared matters so as to facilitate their success. That martial prelate, at the head of 1500 men, had at first stopped the progress of the enemy. He had insulted, harrassed, beaten, driven, inclosed and blocked them up in the town. The Dutch, reduced by hunger, fatigue and want, compelled the governor to surrender to the troops which the fleet had landed on their arrival, and they were all carried to Europe.

THE success of the company by sea, made them amends for this loss. Whenever their ships came into port they were victorious and loaded with the spoils of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They were so prosperous as to give umbrage even to the

powers

powers moſt intereſted in the welfare of Holland. The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured by uſeful exploits to preſerve their confidence. The ſubaltern officers aſpired to promotion, by ſeconding the valour and ſkill of their commanders. The ſoldiers and ſailors fought with unparalleled ardour, and nothing could diſcourage thoſe reſolute and intrepid men. The fatigues of the ſea, ſickneſs, and repeated engagements, all ſeemed to inure them to war, and to increaſe their emulation. The company encouraged this uſeful ſpirit by frequently diſtributing rewards. Excluſive of their pay, the ſailors were allowed to carry on a private trade, which was a great encouragement, and procured a conſtant ſupply of men. By this wiſe regulation, their intereſt was ſo immediately connected with their employers, that they wiſhed to be always in action. They never ſtruck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ſhips with that degree of ſkill, intrepidity and perſeverance, which muſt inſure victory. In the courſe of thirteen years, the company fitted out eight hundred ſhips, which coſt ninety millions *. They took five hundred and forty-five of the enemy's ſhips, which, with the goods on board, ſold for 180,000,000 livres †. The dividend was never below twenty per cent. And often roſe to fifty. This proſperity, which was entirely owing to the war, enabled the company to make a ſecond attack upon the Brazils.

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THEIR

* 3,937,500l. † 7,875,000l.

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THEIR admiral, Henry Lonk, arrived in the beginning of the year 1630, with forty-six men of war, on the coast of Fernambucca, one of the largest captainships in those parts, and the best fortified. He reduced it after several obstinate engagements, in which he was always victorious. The troops he left behind, subdued the captainships of Tamaraca, Paraiba, and Rio Grande, in the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. These, as well as Fernambucca, furnished annually a large quantity of sugar, a great deal of wood for dying, and other commodities.

THE company were so elated with the acquisition of this wealth, which flowed to Amsterdam instead of Lisbon, that they determined to conquer all the Brazils, and intrusted Maurice of Nassau with the conduct of this enterprise. That general reached the place of his destination in the beginning of the year 1637. He found the soldiers so well disciplined, the commanders such experienced men, and so much readiness in all to engage, that he directly took the field. He was successively opposed by Albuquerque, Banjola, Lewis Rocca de Borgia, and the Brazilian Cameron, the idol of his people, passionately fond of the Portuguese, brave, active, cunning, and who wanted no qualification necessary for a general, but to have learned the art of war under able commanders. These several chiefs exerted their utmost efforts to defend the possessions that were under their protection; but their endeavours proved in-

ineffectual. The Dutch seized upon the captain-ships of Siara, Seregippe, and the greater part of that of Bahia. Seven of the fourteen provinces which composed the colony, had already submitted to them, and they flattered themselves that one or two campaigns would make them masters of the rest of their enemies possessions in that part of America; when they were suddenly checked in the midst of their success by a revolution which all Europe wished for, but had no room to expect.



The Portuguese had never enjoyed happy times since they had submitted to the Spanish yoke in 1581. Philip II. an avaricious, cruel, despotic, designing and false prince, had endeavoured to vilify them; but concealed his intentions under honourable pretences. His son, who too closely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than to be indebted to the good-will of the people for their submission, had suffered them to be deprived of a multitude of conquests, which had proved a source of riches, power and glory to them, and which they had acquired by much effusion of blood. The successor of that weak prince, who had still less understanding than his father, openly and contemptuously attacked their administration, their privileges, their manners, and all that they were most attached to. At the instigation of Olivarez, he wanted to provoke them to revolt, that he might acquire the right of plundering them.

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These repeated outrages united all the Portuguese, whom Spain had been labouring to divide. A conspiracy, that had been forming for three years with incredible secrecy, broke out on the 3d of December 1640. Philip IV. was ignominiously banished, and the duke of Braganza was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom, and by all that remained of the settlements formed in happier times in Asia, Africa, and America. No blood was shed on this great revolution except that of Michael Vasconcellos, the base and vile instrument of tyranny.

The new king united his interests and his resentments with those of the English, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the 23d of June 1641, he in particular concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Provinces for Europe, and a ten years truce for the East and West Indies. Nassau was immediately recalled with most of the troops, and the government of the Dutch possessions in Brazil was given to Hamel, a merchant of Amsterdam; to Bassis, a goldsmith of Harlem; and to Bullestraat, a carpenter of Middleburgh. The decision of all affairs was to be referred to this council; and these were now supposed to be confined to the carrying on of a considerable and advantageous trade.

The new administrators readily entered into the oeconomical views of the company. Their own inclinations led them to push these views too far. They

They suffered the fortifications to decay, which had been already too much neglected; they sold arms and ammunition to their rivals, who paid a high price for them; and allowed all the soldiers who desired it to return to Europe. Their whole ambition was to suppress all expences, and increase the profits of their constituents; and the applause which they received on account of the riches of the cargoes from the avaritious and weak minded persons who composed the direction, confirmed them in their errors. With a view to give a further increase to the profits of the company, they began to oppress those Portuguese, who on account of their having considerable property among them, or from some other motive, were induced to remain under their government. Tyranny made a rapid progress, and was at last carried to that excess, which is an excuse for all kinds of measures, and inspires the most violent ones.

The victims of these proceedings wasted no time in complaints. The boldest of them united in 1645, to take their revenge: their design was, to massacre all the Dutch who had any share in the government, at an entertainment in the midst of the capital of Fernambucca, and then to attack the people, who, suspecting no danger, would be unprepared. The plot was discovered, but the conspirators had time to get out of the town, and retire to a place of safety.

Their chief was a Portuguese of obscure birth, named Juan Fernandez de Viera. From a common

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mon ſervant he had riſen to be an agent, and afterwards a merchant. His abilities had enabled him to acquire a large fortune; his probity had gained him univerſal confidence; and his generoſity had made him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his intereſt. He was not diſcouraged by the diſappointment he had juſt met with; but he ventured without the conſent or ſupport of government, to commenſe hoſtilities.

His name, his virtues and his projects aſſembled the Brazilians, the Portugueſe ſoldiers, and even the coloniſts about him. He inſpired them with his confidence, his activity and his courage. They attended him in battle, crowded about his perſon, and were determined to conquer or to die with him. He triumphed, but did not allow himſelf to ſlumber over his victories, or give the enemy time to recover. Some checks he met with in the courſe of his ſucceſſes, only ſerved to diſplay the firmneſs of his ſoul, the extent of his genius, and the elevation of his mind. He aſſumed a threatening aſpect, even after a misfortune, and appeared ſtill more formidable by his perſeverance than by his intrepidity. He ſpread ſuch terror among his enemies that they dared no longer keep the field. At this period of his glory, Viera received orders not to proceed.

Since the truce, the Dutch had ſeized upon ſome places in Africa and Aſia, which they obſtinately refuſed to reſtore. The court of Liſbon, in-

intent upon matters of greater importance, had not been able to do itself justice; but its present inability had not lessened its resentment. In this disposition, it had rejoiced to see the republic attacked in Brazil; and had even clandestinely encouraged those who had begun the hostilities. As it constantly disavowed these proceedings, and declared, both in Europe and America, that it would one day punish the authors of the disturbances; the company imagined they would soon subside; but their avarice, which had been too long amused with false and frivolous protestations, was roused at last. John IV, being informed that considerable armaments were making in Holland, and fearing to be drawn into a war which he wished to avoid, exerted himself in earnest to put an end to the hostilities in the Brazils.

Viera, who had no resource for the completion of his designs, but in his fortune, his interest, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he should obey. "If the king, said he, were but "informed of our zeal and our success, and ac- "quainted with his own interest; far from dis- "arming us, he would encourage us to pursue "our undertaking, and would support us with all "his power." Then, lest the ardour of his companions should abate, he determined to hasten his operations; and they continued to be crowned with such success, that with the assistance of Baretto, Vidal, and some other Portuguese, who were able and willing to serve their country, he completed

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the ruin of the Dutch. The few of these republicans who escaped the sword and famine, evacuated Brazil in consequence of a capitulation signed the 28th of January 1654.

THE peace concluded three months after between England and the United Provinces, seemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable possession, which they had lost by an ill-judged parsimony and by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances; but both the republic and the company frustrated the general expectation; and the treaty which put an end to the divisions between the two powers in 1661, secured to Portugal the sole possession of all the Brazils, in consideration of eight millions of livres* which that crown engaged to pay to the United Provinces, either in money or goods.

THUS did the Dutch part with a conquest that might have become the richest of all the European colonies, and would have given the republic a degree of importance it could never acquire from its own territory. But, in order to keep it, the government ought to have undertaken the administration and defence of it; and to make it prosper, it should have enjoyed full liberty. With these precautions, Brazil would have been preserved, and would have enriched the nation, instead of ruining the company. Unfortunately it was not yet known that the only way to make lands useful in America is to clear them, and that the only way

* 350,000l.

way to do this successfully, is to open a free trade to all the inhabitants under the protection of government.

Situation of the Portuguese in the Brazils after they had expelled the Dutch.

As soon as the Portuguese were entirely freed from the Dutch, they employed themselves in putting the colony into better order than ever it had been even before the war. The first step that was taken for this purpose, was to regulate the condition of the Brazilians who had either submitted already, or might be hereafter reduced to subjection. Upon a more attentive examination it was found, that the accounts, which represented these savages as impatient of any kind of controul, were without foundation. The first impression that the sight of Europeans made upon small nations, who were divided by continual wars, was a sense of distrust; and as it is natural for suspected persons to be afraid of those who suspect them, they thought themselves at liberty to treat them as enemies, to oppress them, and to put them in irons. This treatment rendered them ferocious. The difficulty of understanding one another, gave still more frequent occasions of animosity on both sides. If the natives afterwards renewed their hostilities, it was commonly because they were provoked to it by the imprudence, the rapaciousness, the dishonesty, and the ill usage of that restless and ambitious power which was come to disturb the peace of this part of America. On some occasions, they might be charged with inadvertency, in too hastily taking up arms from the ap-

BOOK IX. prehenſions of imaginary danger, but never with injuſtice or duplicity of conduct. They were always found true to their promiſes, to the faith of treaties, and to the ſacred rights of hoſpitality.

THE juſt idea that was at length entertained of their character induced the Portugueſe to collect them into villages along the coaſt, or ſome little way up the country. By this contrivance a communication was ſecured between the Portugueſe ſettlements, and the ſavages who infeſted the intermediate parts with their depredations were kept at a diſtance. Some miſſionaries, who were moſtly Jeſuits, were intruſted with the temporal and ſpiritual government of theſe new communities. After making the ſtricteſt inquiries that were poſſible in a country where every thing is myſterious, we have been informed that thoſe eccleſiaſtics were abſolute tyrants. Thoſe who had retained ſome principles of moderation and humanity, whether from indolence or fanaticiſm, kept theſe little ſocieties in a ſtate of perpetual infancy, and neither improved their underſtanding, nor their induſtry beyond a certain degree.

POSSIBLY, had they been ever ſo willing, they would have found it difficult to have been more ſerviceable to them. Some kinds of government are faulty, both by the evil they do, and by the good they prevent. A bad adminiſtration corrupts every ſource of virtue and proſperity. The court of Liſbon exempted the Indians from all taxes, but made them ſubject to labours of vaſſal-

age.

age. This fatal law made them dependent on the neighbouring commandants and magiſtrates, who, under the uſual pretence adopted by men in office, of making them work for the public, too often impoſed labours upon them for their own purpoſes. Thoſe who were not employed for them or for their directors, were generally unemployed. If they ſhook off their natural indolence, it was to go a hunting or fiſhing, or to cultivate a little caſſada, juſt as much as they wanted for their own ſubſiſtence. Their manufactures were confined to ſome cotton girdles or ſaſhes to cover their loins, and the arrangement of a few feathers to adorn their heads. The moſt induſtrious among them, by cutting the wood in the foreſts, or by the labours of agriculture procured themſelves a ſufficiency to purchaſe a few articles of cutlery, and other trifles of ſmall value. If any of them, from a ſpirit of inconſtancy, hired themſelves to the Portugueſe, either for domeſtic ſervices or to navigate their ſmall craft, it was always for a ſhort time; for they had the greateſt averſion for labour, and held money in the higheſt contempt. BOOK IX.

Such was the fate of the Brazilians who had ſubmitted, whoſe number never exceeded 200,000. The independent natives had little intercourſe with the Europeans, except by the ſlaves they ſold them, or thoſe that were taken from them. Acts of hoſtility became leſs frequent between the two nations, and there was at length a total ceſſation

BOOK IX. of them. The Portugueſe have not been moleſted by the natives ſince the year 1717, and have not moleſted them ſince 1756.

While the court of Liſbon was engaged in regulating the interior concerns of the colony, ſome of the ſubjects of Portugal were deviſing the means of extending it. They advanced to the ſouth towards the river of Plata, and to the north as far as the Amazons. The Spaniards ſeemed to be in poſſeſſion of both thoſe rivers. The Portugueſe were determined to drive them away, or ſhare the navigation with them.

Settlement of the Portugueſe on the river of the Amazons.

The river of the Amazons, ſo famous for the length of its courſe; that great vaſſal of the ſea, to which it brings the tribute it has received from ſo many of its own vaſſals, ſeems to be produced by innumerable torrents that ruſh down from the eaſt ſide of the Andes, and unite in a ſpacious plain, to form that immenſe river. Yet the common opinion is, that it comes from the lake Llauricocha, as from a reſervoir of the Cordeleras, ſituate in the diſtrict of Guanuco, thirty leagues from Lima, about the 11th degree of ſouth latitude. In its progreſs of a thouſand or eleven hundred leagues, it receives the waters of a prodigious number of rivers, ſome of which come from far, and are very broad and deep. It is interſperſed with an infinite number of iſlands, that are too often overflowed to admit of culture. It falls into the ocean under the line, and is there fifty leagues broad.

The

THE mouth of this river was firſt diſcovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinçon, one of the companions of Columbus, and its ſource is thought to have been found out by Gonzalo Pizarro 1538. His lieutenant Orellana embarked on this river, and ſailed from one end to the other of it. He was obliged to fight his way along, and to engage with many nations, who obſtructed his navigation with their canoes, and poured ſhowers of arrows upon him from the ſhore. It was certainly at this time that the ſight of ſavages without beards, as are all the American nations, ſtruck the lively imaginations of the Spaniards, and ſuggeſted the idea of an army of female warriours: this muſt have induced the commanding officer to change the name of that river, which was then called the Maragnon, and to call it the river of the Amazons, which name it retains to this day.

IT might appear a matter of aſtoniſhment that the diſcovery of America had not ſuggeſted to the imagination of the Spaniards a great number of miraculous ſtories, had not their conqueſts, and the riches they acquired by their unparalleled cruelties, depopulated a country ſo well adapted to favour their propenſity to the marvellous. There indeed, the fancy of the Greeks might have found abundant matter for pleaſing chimæras. They, who in every part of their limited territory could not but meet with a multitude of wonders, had, even in the times of Hercules and Theſeus, imagined the exiſtence of a nation of Ama-

BOOK IX. zons. They were so enchanted with this idea, that it constantly served to embellish the histories of all the heroes, down to Alexander. Perhaps, the Spaniards, still infatuated with this dream of profane antiquity, were the more disposed to realize the fiction, by transferring to the new continent what they had learned in the old.

Such was, probably, the origin of the opinion they established both in Europe and America, of a republic of female warriours, actually existing, who did not live in society with men, and only admitted them once a year, for the purposes of procreation. To give the more credit to this romantic story, it was reported, not without reason, that the women in America were all so unhappy, and were treated with such contempt an inhumanity, that many of them had agreed to shake off the yoke of their tyrants. It was further said, that being accustomed to follow the men into the forests, and to carry their provisions and baggage when they went out to fight or to hunt, they must necessarily have been inured to hardships, and rendered capable of forming so bold a resolution.

But it is absurd to imagine that women who had so fixed an aversion for men, would ever consent to become mothers; nor is it likely that the men would run after their wives, when they had made their lives insupportable at home, and always turned them away as soon as they had no more occasion for them. Much less can it be supposed that the softer and more compassionate sex would

expose

expoſe or ſtrangle their own children becauſe they were boys; and coolly and deliberately agree to commit ſuch enormities as none would be guilty of, but a few individuals urged by rage and deſpair. An ariſtocratical or democratical republic, which it requires abilities to govern, could not be governed by a ſenate of women; though a monarchical or deſpotic ſtate, in which it is only neceſſary to command, has been, and may ſtill be ruled by a woman.

If ſome ſtrange prejudices have formed ſocieties of both ſexes amongſt us, who live ſeparate, and free from that natural attraction which was intended to unite them, it is not conſiſtent with the nature of things, that chance ſhould have produced a nation of men without women, and ſtill leſs a nation of women without men. Certain it is, that ſince this political conſtitution has been talked of, infinite pains have been taken to find it out, but no traces of it could ever be diſcovered. This ſingular prodigy therefore will be like many others, which are always ſuppoſed to exiſt, though no perſon knows where.

Be this as it may, the voyage of Orellana procured little information, but excited much curioſity. An opportunity of ſatisfying it did not occur for ſome time, on account of the civil wars that diſturbed Peru; but when tranquillity was reſtored, Pedro d'Orſuo, a gentleman of Navarre, diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and courage, offered the viceroy, in 1560, to reſume that navigation.

He

BOOK IX. He set out from Cuſco with ſeven hundred men. Theſe ſanguinary people, inveterate enemies to all perſons of good character, maſſacred their chief, who was a man of good morals, and attached to order and regularity. They ſet up at their head, with the title of king, a native of Biſcay, of a ferocious diſpoſition, whoſe name was Lopez d'Aguirre, and who promiſed them all the treaſures of the new world.

INTOXICATED with ſuch flattering hopes, theſe barbarians ſailed down the river Amazon into the ocean, and landing at Trinidad, murdered the governor, and plundered the iſland. The coaſts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha were ſtill more ſeverely treated, becauſe they were richer. They then penetrated into new Granada, and were advancing to Quito and into the interior part of Peru, where every thing was to be deſtroyed by fire and ſword. A body of troops, haſtily aſſembled, attacked theſe deſperate men, beat and diſperſed them. D'Aguirre, ſeeing no way to eſcape, marked his deſpair by an attrocious act. "My "child, ſaid he, to his only daughter who attend-"ed him in his expeditions, I thought to have "placed thee upon a throne, but the event has "not anſwered my expectation. My honour "and thy own will not permit thee to live, "and to be a ſlave to our enemies; die there-"fore by a father's hand." Saying this, he inſtantly ſhot her through the body, and then put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart.

heart. After this unnatural act, his ſtrength failed, and he was taken priſoner, drawn and quartered. BOOK IX.

AFTER theſe unfortunate events, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and was totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were afterwards made to reſume the diſcovery of it, but they were ill concerted and no better executed. The honour of conquering difficulties, and acquiring a uſeful knowledge of that great river, was reſerved to the Portugueſe.

THAT nation, which ſtill retained ſome remains of her former vigour, had, ſome years before, built a town at the entrance of the river, which was called Para. Pedro Texeira ſailed from this place in 1638, and with a great number of canoes full of Indians and Portugueſe, went up the river of the Amazons, as far as the mouth of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almoſt to Quito, where he arrived by land. Notwithſtanding the enmity ſubſiſting between the Spaniards and Portugueſe, though ſubjects of the ſame maſter, Texeira was received with that regard, eſteem, and confidence, which were due to a man who was doing a ſignal ſervice. He returned in company with d'Acughna and d'Artieda, two learned Jeſuits, who were commiſſioned to verify his obſervations, and to make others. An accurate account of theſe two ſucceſsful voyages was ſent to the court of Madrid, where it gave riſe to a very extraordinary project.

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BOOK IX.

THE communication between the Spaniſh colonies had long been found very difficult. Some pirates, who were at enmity with them, infeſted the north and ſouth ſeas, and intercepted their navigation. Even thoſe of their ſhips which had got to the Havannah and joined others, were not perfectly ſafe. The galleons were frequently attacked and taken by whole ſquadrons, and always purſued by privateers, who ſeldom failed to carry off the ſtraggling veſſels, that were parted from the convoy, either by ſtormy weather or by ſailing more ſlowly than the reſt. The Amazon river ſeemed as if it would obviate all theſe difficulties. It was thought poſſible, and even an eaſy matter, to convey thither the treaſures of New Granada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and Chili itſelf, by navigable rivers, or at a ſmall expence by land. It was thought that coming down the river, they would find the galleons ready in the harbour of Para to receive them. The fleet from Brazil would then have joined, and conſequently ſtrengthened the fleet from Spain. They would then have ſailed with great ſecurity in latitudes little known and little frequented, and would have arrived in Europe at leaſt with a formidable appearance; or might really have been in a condition to ſurmount any obſtacles they might have met with. The revolution which placed the duke of Braganza on the throne, put an end to theſe important projects. Each of the two nations was then only intent upon

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securing to itself that part of the river which best suited its own situation. BOOK IX.

The Spanish Jesuits undertook to set up a mission in the country lying between the banks of the Amazon and of the Napo, as far as to the conflux of both these rivers. Every missionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and penetrated into the thickest of the forests. There they spent whole months in climbing up the trees, to see if they could discover some hut, perceive any smoke, or hear the sound of any drum or fife. When they were assured that some savages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Most of them fled, especially if they were at war. Those the missionary could come within reach of, were easily bribed by such presents as their ignorance made them set a value upon. This was all the eloquence he had in his power, or all he had any occasion to exert.

When he had assembled a few families, he led them to the place he had fixed upon to form a village. They were not easily prevailed upon to take up their abode there. As they were used to rove about, they found it an insupportable hardship to remain always in the same place. The state of independence in which they had lived, they thought preferable to the social life that was recommended to them; and their unconquerable aversion for labour, induced them continually to return to the forests, where they had passed their

lives

BOOK IX. lives in idleneſs. Even thoſe who were reſtrained by the authority or the paternal kindneſs of their legiſlator, ſeldom failed to diſperſe in his abſence, though ever ſo ſhort. But his death always occaſioned a total ſubverſion of the ſettlement.

THE perſeverance of the Jeſuits has at laſt conquered theſe obſtacles apparently invincible. Their miſſion, which began in 1637, has gradually acquired ſome degree of firmneſs, and now conſiſts of thirty-ſix villages, twelve of which are ſituated along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of the Amazon. The moſt populous has no more than twelve hundred inhabitants, and the reſt much leſs. The increaſe of the miſſion muſt be ſlow, and can never be conſiderable.

THE women of this part of America are not fruitful, and their barrenneſs increaſes, when they remove from one place to another. The men are of a feeble habit, and the cuſtom they have of bathing conſtantly, by no means contributes to increaſe their ſtrength. The climate is not healthy, and contagious diſtempers are very frequent. It has never been poſſible, and probably never will be, to inſpire the ſavages with an inclination for agriculture. Their chief delight is in fiſhing and hunting, amuſements which are by no means favourable to the increaſe of population. In a country which is almoſt all under water, there are few ſituations proper to form a ſettlement upon. Moſt of theſe ſituations are at ſo great a diſtance from each other, that they cannot poſſibly furniſh

any

any mutual assistance. The nations which one might endeavour to incorporate are also too far separated; most of them are intrenched in inaccessible places, and are so inconsiderable, that they often consist only of five or six families. BOOK IX.

Of all the Indians the Jesuits had collected, and whom they governed, none were so lifeless or so incapable of being animated as these. Every missionary was obliged to put himself at their head in order to make them pick up the cocoa, vanilla, and sarsaparilla that nature plentifully offers them, and which are sent every year to Quito, three hundred leagues off, that they may be bartered for necessaries. Their whole property consists of a hut, open on all sides, made of a few canes, and covered on the top with palm leaves, a few implements of husbandry, a lance, bows and arrows for hunting, fishing tackle, a tent, a hammock, and a canoe. It has not been possible to inspire them with desires beyond these articles. They are so well satisfied with what they possess, that they wish for nothing more; they live unconcerned, and die without fear. They may be said to be happy, if happiness consists more in an exemption from the uneasy sensation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants require.

This infant state, the offspring of religion alone, has hitherto been of no service to Spain, and it can hardly be expected it ever should. However the government of Maynas, with its capital Borja, have been formed there. The destroyers of America

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rica have never thought of eſtabliſhing any ſettlement in a country where there are no mines, nor any of thoſe rich commodities which ſo powerfully allured their covetouſneſs; but this country has ſometimes attracted the neighbouring ſavages.

While ſome miſſionaries were eſtabliſhing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Amazon, others were doing the ſame ſervice to that of Liſbon. Six or ſeven days journey below the ſettlement of St. Ignacio de Pevas, the laſt under the juriſdiction of Spain, is St. Paul, the firſt of the ſix villages formed by ſome Portugueſe Carmelites, at a very great diſtance from each other. They are all on the ſouth ſide of the river, where the ground is higher, and leſs liable to be overflowed. Thoſe miſſions exhibit a pleaſant proſpect five hundred leagues from the ſea; churches and houſes prettily built; Americans neatly dreſſed; and all ſorts of European furniture which the Indians procure once a year at Para, when they go in their boats to ſell the cocoa they pick up along the water ſide, where it grows ſpontaneouſly. If the Maynas were at liberty to form connections with theſe neighbours, they might acquire by this intercourſe ſome conveniencies that they cannot be ſupplied with from Quito, being ſeparated from that place by the Cordeleras, which cut off the communication more effectually than immenſe ſeas would do. This indulgence of government might perhaps be productive of conſiderable advantages; and, poſſibly, both Spain and

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Portugal, though rival powers, might be ſenſible that it would be for their mutual intereſt to extend it. It is well known that the province of Quito is poor, for want of an opportunity of diſpoſing of the overplus of thoſe very commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces mutually aſſiſting each other by means of the Napo and the Amazon, would riſe to a degree of proſperity they could never attain without this intercourſe. The mother countries would in time reap great advantages from it, and it could never be prejudicial to them, becauſe Quito can never purchaſe what is ſent from Europe to America, and Para conſumes nothing but what Liſbon obtains from foreign countries. But national antipathies, and the jealouſies of crowned heads, are attended with the ſame effects as the paſſions and prejudices of men in private life. One unfortunate incident is ſufficient to divide families and nations for ever, whoſe greateſt intereſt it is to love and aſſiſt one another, and to promote the general good. The ſpirit of hatred and revenge will rather induce men to ſubmit to ſuffer than not be gratified. Thoſe paſſions are conſtantly kept up by the mutual injuries and the effuſion of blood they occaſion. How different is man in the ſtate of nature from man corrupted by ſociety! The latter amply deſerves all the misfortunes he brings upon himſelf.

Evident proofs of his propenſity to evil may be ſeen in thoſe bulwarks, and that chain of forts

BOOK IX. erected by the avarice and diſtruſt of the conquerors of Brazil, from the diſtrict of Coari down to the ſea ſide. The Portugueſe built them to preſerve their uſurpations in that part of the world. Though theſe forts are at a great diſtance from each other, and are but ſlightly fortified and thinly garriſoned, the few Indians who inhabit the intermediate ſpaces are completely kept in ſubjection. The petty nations who refuſed to ſubmit, have diſappeared, having fled for refuge to ſome remote or unknown region. The rich ſoil they have forſaken has not been cultivated, though the intereſt of the mother country ſeemed to require it; ſo that hitherto all the conqueſts the Spaniards and Portugueſe have made, have rather excited hatred and indignation againſt their cruelties, than procured them riches and proſperity.

THE country along the Amazon indeed furniſhes Portugal with ſarſaparilla, vanilla, coffee, cotton, woods for cabinet work, timber and plenty of cocoa, which, till of late years, was the current coin of the country. But this produce is nothing to what it might be. It is only to be found for ſome leagues about great Para, the capital of the colony, whereas the cultures ought to extend all along the great river, and on the fertile banks of an infinite number of navigable rivers which fall into it.

THESE conſiderable articles of trade are not the only ones that this part of the new world could ſupply Portugal with, if from time to time it had

had ſent able naturaliſts into its colonies, as other nations have done into theirs. Chance alone has diſcovered the Cucheris and Pecuri, two aromatic trees, whoſe fruits have the ſame properties as the nutmeg and clove. Perhaps culture might give them that degree of perfection they want. Continual application might procure much uſeful knowledge, in a country where nature is ſo different from what it is in our climate.



UNFORTUNATELY the Portugueſe, who in their ſettlements on the river Amazon employed none but ſavages for their laborious work, attended to nothing but making ſlaves. At firſt, they ſet up a croſs on ſome eminence in the countries they ran over, and left the care of it to the Indians. If they ſuffered it to decay, they and their children were piouſly doomed to ſlavery, for this heinous profanation. Thus the ſign of ſalvation and deliverance to chriſtians, was made a ſign of death and ſlavery to the Indians. The forts that had been erected ſerved afterwards to increaſe the number of ſlaves. This reſource proving inſufficient, the Portugueſe of Para made excurſions of five or ſix hundred leagues to procure an additional number of men to ſupply the place of beaſts in the cultivation of the land. In 1719, they procured ſome from the country of Maynas; and 1733 from the miſſions of the Napo; and in 1741 as far as the head of the river Madera, and at different times from the banks of rivers nearer home. They procured the greateſt number from Rio Negro, where

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they have long ſince built a conſiderable fort. A detachment from the garriſon of Para is always encamped on the banks of that river, to keep the reduced Indians in awe and to protect them. That part of the country is covered with miſſions, where the miſſionaries piouſly encourage their converts to attack the neighbouring nations and bring away ſlaves. At laſt a party of ſoldiers, who were ſent out to make further diſcoveries, went in boats as far as Oroonoko. This laſt enterpriſe has enlarged the views of the Portugueſe, by removing all doubt concerning the communication between that river and the Amazon by Rio Negro. It concerns the court of Madrid to examine the grounds of theſe views, and to ſee how far they ought to take meaſures for diſappointing them. At leaſt we may venture to affirm, that the projects of the court of Liſbon on the river Plata, deſerve the moſt ſerious attention.

Settlement of the Portugueſe on the river Plata.

THE Portugueſe, who had appeared there ſoon after the Spaniards, took a diſlike to it and withdrew in a ſhort time. In 1679 their inclination of ſettling there was revived, and with more ſpirit than they were thought capable of from their conduct and manners in Europe, they penetrated into Paraguay. They had already eſtabliſhed the colony of St. Sacrament, near the iſlands of St. Gabriel, oppoſite Buenos Ayres, when they were accidentally detected. The Guaranis Indians haſtened thither to make amends for the neglect of government. They attacked the new erected fortifications

tions without hesitation, and demolished them with an intrepidity that has done honour to their courage. BOOK IX.

The court of Lisbon, which had built great hopes upon this settlement, was not discouraged by the late misfortunes it had experienced; but desired that, till its claims could be adjusted, it might be allowed a place where the Portuguese might be sheltered from storms, and in security from pirates, if they were forced by stress of weather to enter the river Plata.

Charles II, who dreaded a war, and hated business, was weak enough to comply with their request, and only stipulated that the place so granted should be deemed his property; that no more than fourteen Portuguese families should be sent thither; that the houses should be built of wood and thatched; that no fort should be erected; and that the governor of Buenos Ayres should have a right to inspect both the colony and the ships that should come into it.

If the Jesuits who had directed the war, had also carried on the negociation, they would certainly have foreseen the consequence of such a compliance. It was impossible that a fixed settlement in so important a situation, however inconsiderable it might be, should not become a source of frequent altercations with enterprising neighbours, whose claims were very great, who were certain of the protection of all the enemies of Spain, and whose vicinity to the Brazils would en-

BOOK IX.

able them to take advantage of every opportunity to aggrandize and fortify themſelves. The event ſoon ſhewed the danger that might have been foreſeen.

IMMEDIATELY upon the elevation of a French prince to the throne of Spain, when all was ſtill in confuſion and uncertainty as to the conſequences of that great revolution, the Portugueſe reſtored the fortifications of St. Sacrament with amazing celerity. The precaution they took at the ſame time of giving alarm to the Guaranis, by ordering ſome troops to advance towards their frontiers, induced them to hope that they ſhould prevent any diſturbances from them. But they were miſtaken. The Jeſuits having detected the artifice, brought their converts to St. Sacrament, which was already beſieged. Thoſe brave Indians, on their arrival, offered to mount the breach, though they knew it was but juſt opened. When they began their march, ſome batteries were fired upon them from the town, but they ſtood the cannonade without ever breaking their ranks, nor could they be reſtrained by the fire of the ſmall arms, which likewiſe killed many of them. The intrepidity with which they ſtill advanced, raiſed ſuch aſtoniſhment among the Portugueſe that they fled to their ſhips, and abandoned the place.

THE misfortunes which Philip V. experienced in Europe prevented this ſucceſs from being of any advantage. The colony of St. Sacrament was firmly re-eſtabliſhed by the peace of Utrecht.

Queen

Queen Anne, who made this peace, and who neither neglected her own intereſts nor thoſe of her allies, required Spain to give up this important point. BOOK IX.

At this period the new ſettlement, being now, under no apprehenſions, began to carry on an immenſe trade with Buenos Ayres. This contraband trade had long ſubſiſted. Rio Janeiro furniſhed Buenos Ayres with ſugar, tobacco, wine, brandy, negroes, and woollen goods; and received in return from thence, flour, biſcuit, dried or ſalt meat, and money. As ſoon as the two colonies had a ſafe and commodious ſtaple, their connections were unlimited. The court of Madrid, which ſoon perceived the road the treaſures of Peru were taking, ſhewed great marks of diſcontent, which ſtill increaſed as the injury complained of grew greater. This proved a perpetual ſource of diviſion between the two nations, which was every inſtant expected to terminate in an open rupture. The conciliating methods which were propoſed from time to time, were always found impracticable. At laſt, however, matters were adjuſted.

It was agreed at Madrid on the 13th of January 1750, that Portugal ſhould give up to Spain the colony of St. Sacrament, and the north border of the river Plata, together with the village of St. Chriſtopher and the adjacent lands, ſituated between the rivers Ypura and Iſſa, which fall into the Amazon. Spain, on her ſide, gave up all the lands and habitations bordering on the eaſt ſide of the river Uraguay, from the river Ibicui to the

BOOK IX. north, the vilage of Santa Roſa, and all the others on the eaſtern border of the Guarapey.

THIS exchange was cenſured in both courts. Some ventured to ſay at Liſbon, that it was bad policy to ſacrifice a colony, whoſe illicit trade brought in eight or ten millions * a year to the mother country, for other poſſeſſions the advantages of which were precarious, or at leaſt diſtant. The clamours ran higher ſtill at Madrid, and were more general. It was imagined that the Portugueſe were already maſters of the whole extent of the Uraguay, that the ſettlements all along the banks of the Plata were filled with their merchandiſe; that they were ſeen penetrating by means of ſeveral rivers into the Tucuman, into Chili, and as far as Potoſi, and by degrees ſecuring to themſelves all the riches of Peru. It appeared incredible that the ſame miniſters, who had conſidered it as impoſſible to put a ſtop to a contraband trade which could only be carried on from one ſpot, ſhould flatter themſelves they ſhould be able to prevent it, when a hundred channels were laid open to it. It was, ſaid they, ſhutting a window againſt a thief, and throwing open the doors.

THESE diſpoſitions gave riſe to numberleſs cabals, which were laid to the charge of the Jeſuits. They were known to be averſe from an arrangement that muſt neceſſarily diſmember their republic; and it was therefore thought there was reaſon enough to ſuſpect them of exerting every effort to prevent

* On an average about 400,000l.

prevent the concluſion of the agreement. They were baniſhed from both courts; the intrigues ceaſed, and the treaty was ratified. BOOK IX.

It was then neceſſary to enforce the execution of it in America, which appeared to be a matter of ſome difficulty. The Guaranis had not been ſubdued, but had freely ſubmitted to Spain. They might, poſſibly, be of opinion, that they had not given that crown a power of diſpoſing of them to another. Without being converſant in the ſubtleties of the law of nations, they might think that they had a right to determine what was moſt conducive to their own happineſs. Their known abhorrence for the Portugueſe yoke was equally likely to lead them into error, or to inform them of what was their intereſt; and that averſion might be ſtrengthened by inſinuations from without. So critical a ſituation made it neceſſary to proceed with the greateſt circumſpection, which was not neglected.

The forces which both powers had ſent over from Europe, and thoſe that could be collected in America, joined to prevent or get the better of thoſe difficulties that were foreſeen. This ſyſtem did not alarm thoſe againſt whom it was intended. Though the ſeven ſettlements that had been ceded were not ſuccoured by the others, at leaſt not openly; and though the chiefs who till then had led them on to battle were no longer at their head, they were not afraid to take up arms in defence of their liberty. But their military conduct was not

ſuch

BOOK IX. such as it ought to have been. Instead of confining themselves to harass the enemy, and to cut off their subsistence, which came from two hundred leagues off, the Guaranis ventured to engage them in the open field, and met with some inconsiderable losses. If they had been totally defeated, they were determined to quit the country, to carry off all they could, to set fire to the rest, and to leave the conqueror nothing but a desert. Whether the two powers who had agreed to make the exchange were intimidated by this spirited behaviour, or whether one or perhaps both became sensible of the disadvantages of the treaty they had entered into, it was cancelled in 1761, and things remained upon the old footing in America; but both courts retained a violent resentment against the Jesuits, who were thought to have kindled a war in Paraguay, to promote their own interest.

It is uncertain how far they may have deserved this accusation. The proofs in support of this charge have not been laid before the public. All that a writer, who has nothing to guide him but conjecture, can venture to assert, is, that probabilities are strong against them. It was hardly possible that men who with infinite labour, had erected such a vast edifice, could patiently bear to see its ruin. Independent of self-interest, which must have a considerable influence upon a society, which, from its first establishment, had been secretly aiming at dominion, the Jesuits must have thought themselves in-

intruſted with the felicity of thoſe humane and ſimple people, who ſheltering themſelves under their protection, depended upon them for their future deſtiny. However this may be, we muſt now proceed to ſpeak of another method the Portugueſe took to enlarge their poſſeſſions.

Settlement of the Portugueſe at St. Paul.

In the diſtrict of St. Vincent, the ſouthermoſt in Brazil, and the neareſt to Rio de la Plata, thirteen leagues from the ſea, is a town called St. Paul. It was founded by thoſe malefactors who were firſt ſent from Portugal into the new world. As ſoon as they perceived that they were to be ſubject to the reſtraints of law, they withdrew from the places they had firſt inhabited, intermarried with the natives, and in a ſhort time became ſo profligate, that their fellow citizens broke off all intercourſe with them. The contempt they met with, and the fear of being reſtrained in their licentiouſneſs, together with the love of liberty, made them deſirous of being independent. The ſituation of their town, which could be defended by a handful of men againſt the moſt powerful armies that could be ſent againſt them, inſpired them with the reſolution of being ſubject to no foreign power, and their ambition was ſucceſsful. Profligate men of all nations reſorted in great numbers to this eſtabliſhment. All travellers were ſtrictly forbidden to enter this new republic. To obtain an admittance, it was previouſly neceſſary to promiſe to ſettle there; and candidates were to undergo a ſevere trial. Thoſe who could not go through

BOOK IX. through that kind of noviciate, or who were ſuſpected of perfidy, were barbarouſly murdered; as were likewiſe all who ſhewed any inclination to quit the ſettlement.

A PURE air, a ſerene ſky, a very temperate climate, though in the 24th degree of ſouth latitude, and a land abounding with corn, ſugar, and excellent paſture; all theſe circumſtances conſpired to induce the Pauliſts to lead a life of indolence, eaſe and effeminacy; but that reſtleſſneſs ſo natural to reſolute banditti, that deſire of dominion, which is nearly connected with a love of independence, the advances of liberty, which lead men to wiſh for glory of ſome kind or other, and to diſtinguiſh themſelves: perhaps all theſe motives combined, prompted them to forego an eaſy life, and to engage in troubleſome and hazardous excurſions.

THE firſt objects of theſe excurſions was to procure ſlaves for their cultures. When they had depopulated the adjacent country, they proceeded to the province of Guayra, where the Spaniſh Jeſuits had collected and civilized the Guaranis. Theſe new Chriſtians were expoſed to ſo many maſſacres, and ſo many of them were carried off, that they ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded to remove to the unwholeſome banks of the Parana and the Uraguay, which they ſtill inhabit. They reaped little advantage from this compliance; for they could promiſe themſelves no tranquillity, unleſs they were allowed to defend themſelves with the ſame arms as they were attacked with.

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To propoſe that they ſhould be furniſhed with ſuch arms, was a matter of too delicate a nature. Spain had laid it down as a fundamental maxim, never to introduce the uſe of fire-arms among the Indians, leſt the unfortunate victims of her inſatiable avarice ſhould one day make uſe of them to free themſelves from the yoke that had been impoſed upon them. The lawgivers of the Guaranis applauded this neceſſary precaution with regard to ſlaves, who were kept under by compulſion, but they thought it needleſs with men who were freely attached to the kings of Spain by ſuch eaſy bands, that they could be under no temptation of breaking them. They ſo well pleaded the cauſe of their converts, that in ſpite of oppoſition and prejudice, they obtained their requeſt. The Guaranis were indulged with fire-arms in 1639, and ſoon made ſuch good uſe of them, that they became the bulwark of Paraguay, and were able to keep off the Pauliſts.

These deſperate men reſolved to procure by craft what they could not obtain by force. They repaired to the places where the miſſionaries were uſed to reſort; and there they ſet up croſſes. Then ſome of the moſt intelligent of them, dreſſed in the habit of Jeſuits, made ſome trifling preſents to the ſavages they met with, and enticed them to follow them to a habitation where every thing was in readineſs to make them happy. When they had aſſembled a certain number, the troops that lay concealed, ruſhed upon the credulous Indians, loaded

BOOK IX. loaded them with irons, and carried them off. Some who made their escape gave the alarm, which raised a general suspicion, that occasioned a stop to be put to these hostile proceedings.

THE Paulists then carried on their depredations another way, and extended them as far as the river of the Amazons. They are said to have destroyed no less than a million of Indians. Those who have escaped their fury, in an extent of three or four hundred leagues, are grown more savage than ever, they have fled for safety to the caves of the mountains, or dispersed themselves among the darkest recesses of the forests. Their persecutors have not shared a better fate, having all gradually perished in these dangerous excursions. But to the misfortune of America, their place has been supplied with vagabond Brazilians, fugitive negroes, and Europeans who were fond of the same roving life.

THE same spirit has always prevailed at St. Paul, even after some particular circumstances had induced the people to acknowledge the dominion of Portugal. But their excursions are now carried on in such a manner that they rather promote than obstruct the views of the mother country. By following the course of several rivers, they have attempted to open a way into Peru by the north of Paraguay. The vicinity of the lake of the Xarayes has put them in possession of the gold mines of Cayaba and Matto-Grosso, which they have opened, and still continue to work, without meet-

meeting with any interruption from Spain, who lays claim to that country. They would have carried their uſurpations further, had they not been prevented by the Chiquitos.

Productions of Brazil.

WHILE theſe reſtleſs and enterpriſing men were ravaging the Amazon, the Plata, and the mountains of Peru, the coaſts of Brazil daily improved in rich productions. That colony ſent over to the mother country thirty-two millions weight of ſugar, which was enough for its conſumption, and ſufficient to ſupply a great part of Europe; tobacco, which could be diſpoſed of to advantage both in Africa and the European nations; balſam of capivi, a balſamic oil that diſtils from inciſions made in a tree called Copaiba; Ipecacuanha, a very mild emetic which is much uſed; cocoa, which grew wild in ſome places, and was cultivated in others; cotton, ſuperior to that of the Levant and the Caribbee iſlands, and almoſt equal to the fineſt that comes from the Eaſt Indies; indigo, which the Portugueſe have never ſufficiently attended to; hides, the produce of oxen that run wild, and have greatly multiplied in the foreſts; and, laſtly, logwood.

THE tree that produces the logwood is as tall and as buſhy as our oak; the leaves are ſmall, roundiſh, and of a fine bright green; the trunk is commonly tortuous, rugged and knotty, like the white-thorn. The bloſſoms, which reſemble lilies of the valley, are of a fine red, and exhale a fragrant ſmell. The bark is ſo thick, that there is

BOOK IX. is very little left when the wood is ſtripped. This wood is very fit for turnery work, and takes a fine poliſh; but its chief uſe is for the red dye. The trees grows in dry and barren places, and among the rocks; it is found in moſt provinces in the Brazils, but chiefly in that of Fernambucca; and the beſt of all grows ten leagues from Olinda, the capital of that captainſhip.

In exchange for theſe commodities, Portugal ſupplied the Brazils with flour, wine, brandy, ſalt, woollen goods, ſilks, linen, hard ware and paper; in ſhort, all that Europe exports to America, except gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which the mother country had, whether properly or not, prohibited in her colonies.

The whole trade was carried on by a fleet, which ſailed every year from Liſbon and Oporto in the month of March, and conſiſted of twenty or twenty-two ſhips for Rio-Janeiro, thirty for Bahia, as many for Fernambucca, and ſeven or eight for Para. The ſhips parted when they came to a certain latitude, and proceeded to their reſpective deſtinations. They afterwards met at Bahia to ſail for Portugal, which they reached in September or October the year following, under convoy of five or ſix men of war, which had eſcorted them at their going out.

Many judicious perſons blamed this regulation, and thought it would have been better to have left the merchants at liberty to ſend out their ſhips, and order them home when it ſuited them beſt.

This

This prudent ſyſtem would infallibly have reduced the expence of freight, which muſt affect the price of the commodities. A free trade would have employed more ſhips, and voyages would have been more frequent. It would have ſtrengthened the navy, and encouraged agriculture. The intercourſe between the colonies and the mother country being more frequent, would have given information, which would have enabled government to extend its protection more eaſily, and to ſecure its authority.

The court of Liſbon ſeemed frequently inclined to yield to theſe conſiderations, but was at firſt deterred by the fear of ſeeing the ſhips fall into the enemy's hands, if they ſailed ſeparately; and afterwards by the obſtacles which the viceroys of Brazil oppoſed to this alteration. The increaſe of their fortune and of their greatneſs required that the buſineſs of the colony ſhould be tranſacted in the capital; ſo that after having contrived to attract it to that ſpot, they ſucceeded in retaining it there; and conſequently this town, which is called either Bahia or San Salvador, became a very flouriſhing city.

The way to it is by the bay of All Saints, which is two leagues and a half broad at the entrance. On each ſide ſtands a fortreſs, intended rather to prevent landing, than to hinder ſhips from paſſing by. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues in length, and interſperſed with little iſlands, which produce cotton, and form an agreeable proſpect.

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It grows narrow towards the bottom, which is ſheltered from every attack, and makes an excellent harbour, where the largeſt fleets may ride in ſafety. The town commands this harbour, being built on the ſlope of a ſteep hill. The Dutch had incloſed it with a rampart of earth, but the Portugueſe have let it moulder away, thinking the town ſufficiently defended by a number of little forts they have erected at ſmall diſtances, and by a garriſon of four or five hundred men. Any engineer who had ſkill enough to make every advantage of the ſituation, might render it impregnable at a ſmall expence.

THE place well deſerves this attention. It contains two thouſand houſes, which are moſt of them built with great magnificence. Their furniture is the more rich and elegant, as extravagance in dreſs is ſtrictly prohibited. By a very old law, which has often been broken, and which extends to the Brazils ſince the year 1749, the Portugueſe are forbidden to wear any gold or ſilver ſtuffs, or any laced cloths; but their paſſion for ſhew, which no laws can eradicate, has induced them to contrive ſome ſubſtitute, and to wear croſſes, medals, and diamond chaplets, or beads, the rich enſigns of a poor religion. The gold they cannot wear themſelves, they laviſh to adorn their domeſtic ſlaves.

As the ſituation of the town will not admit of coaches, the rich, who will always be diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in

cotton

cotton hammocks. Supinely ſtretched upon velvet cuſhions, and ſurrounded with ſilken curtains which they open and ſhut as they pleaſe, thoſe proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuouſly, though with leſs expedition, than in the moſt eaſy and elegant carriages. The women ſeldom enjoy this luxury. Theſe people, who are ſuperſtitious to a degree of fanaticiſm, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on their high feſtivals; and no one is ſuffered to ſee them in their own houſes. This reſtraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealouſy does not prevent their carrying on intrigues, though they are ſure of being ſtabbed to death upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. By a lenity more judicious than ours, a girl who, without her mother's conſent, or even under her protection, yields to the importunities of a lover, is treated with leſs ſeverity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy by diſpoſing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the ſcandalous trade of a courtezan. Thus it is that riches bring on a train of vices and corruption, eſpecially when they are acquired by bloodſhed and murder, and are not preſerved by labour.

The want of ſociety, conſequent upon the ſeparation of the ſexes, is not the only impediment to the pleaſures and enjoyments of Life at Bahia. The hypocriſy of ſome; the ſuperſtition of others; avarice within, and pompous parade without; extreme indulgence, bordering upon extreme cruelty,

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in a climate where all the ſenſations are quick and impetuous; the diſtruſt that attends weakneſs; that indolence that truſts every thing to ſlaves, whether it relates to pleaſure or buſineſs: all the vices that are to be found, either ſeparately or collectively, in the moſt corrupt ſouthern countries, conſtitute the character of the Portugueſe at Bahia. However, the depravity of their manners ſeems to decreaſe, in proportion as the government of the mother country is more enlightened. Thoſe improvements in knowledge, the abuſe of which will ſometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine and reform a generous people.

THE climate, though a good one, is attended with many inconveniences that leſſen its excellence. There is no mutton; poultry is ſcarce, and the beef is bad. The ants deſtroy the fruits of the earth, as they do all over the colony. The whales devour the fiſh, or frighten them out of the bay. On the other hand, the wine, the meal, the ſalt meats, and all the proviſions brought from Europe, are not always found when they arrive; ſo that the good ſells at an extravagant price. All articles of induſtry are ſold at a ſtill moſt exorbitant rate. The loweſt among the Portugueſe, wholly employed in the trade of tobacco and ſome other articles, would think it a diſgrace to exerciſe any art. Few of the free men have either genius or inclination for it. The ſlaves who make up the greateſt part of the population, are all employed by the rich either in labour or for ſhew.

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NOTWITHSTANDING theſe vices, which generally prevailed, though not to the ſame degree in all parts of the colony, it had long been in a proſperous condition. In the beginning of this century the diſcovery of the gold mines gave it an additional luſtre that occaſioned univerſal aſtoniſhment.

Diſcovery of the gold and diamond mines in Brazil.

THE circumſtances that produced this diſcovery are variouſly related. The moſt common opinion is, that a caravan of Portugueſe, who went from Rio-Janeiro, penetrated into the continent in 1695. They met with the Pauliſts, who, in exchange for ſome European goods, gave them gold duſt which they found was procured from the mines of Parana-Panama, ſituated in that neighbourhood.

A few years after this, a company of ſoldiers from Rio-Janeiro, who were ſent to quell ſome Indians in the inland parts, found on their march ſome golden fiſh-hooks, and were informed that many torrents, ruſhing down from the mountains, brought gold into the valleys. Upon this information, a ſtrict ſearch was made, and upon the high grounds were found ſome rocks that contained gold; but this deceitful appearance of treaſure was neglected on account of the expence it would have required to get at it; nor was a vein of gold, that runs along an immenſe ſpace, found rich enough to anſwer the working of it. After many fruitleſs trials, the Portugueſe contented themſelves like the ſavages, with picking up gold out of the ſand, when the waters had ſubſided,

BOOK IX. sided. This practice has proved very successful at Villa-Rica, and through a very considerable extent of country. The government freely grants from three to five leagues of this precious soil to any one who is able to go and make a fortune there.

Some blacks are employed in looking for gold in the beds of torrents and rivers, and separating it from the sand and mud, in which is naturally concealed. The most usual custom is, that every slave is required to bring in the eighth part of an ounce of gold a day; and if any of them are so fortunate or so diligent as to pick up more, the overplus is their own property. The first use they make of it, is to buy other slaves to do their work for them, that they in their turn may live in idleness. If a slave brings in the quantity of gold prescribed, his master can require nothing more. It is some consolation to him to be able to alleviate the burden of his slavery, by the very labours that are attached to that state.

If we were to estimate the quantity of gold that Brazil annually supplies, by the fifth that the king of Portugal receives from thence, it might be valued at forty-five millions of livres*; but we shall not be supposed to exaggerate, when we assert that the desire of eluding the duties deprives the government notwithstanding its vigilance of the eighth part of the produce.

To

* 1,968,750l.

To this account must be added the silver drawn from the illicit trade with Buenos Ayres, which was formerly immense; but the measures lately taken by Spain have reduced it to about three millions per annum†. Many people are even surprised that such an intercourse should subsist between two nations, who, having no manufactures of their own, and imposing nearly the same taxes on all foreign industry, ought certainly to have nothing to sell. It is not considered that the coast of Portugal is very extensive, and accessible in all parts, so that the duties on goods exported to America, may be eluded with much greater facility on that coast, than in the peninsula of Cadiz. Besides exchanges are not the only means by which the Spanish specie is conveyed into the Portuguese coffers. Independent of all sale or purchase, the Peruvians find a great advantage in sending their money over to Europe by this indirect road.

The first political writers who turned their thoughts towards the probable consequences of the discovery made in Brazil, did not hesitate to foretell that the difference of value between gold and silver would be diminished. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them that, though many ounces of silver had always been given for an ounce of gold, because mines of the former had always been more common than of the latter, yet the value of both metals had



† About 131,000l.

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varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either.

In Japan, the proportion of gold to silver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen or fourteen, as we advance further west.

The like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to silver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the universe was brought to Rome, the mistress of the world, the most settled proportion was one to ten. It rose as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberless and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was less than one to twelve.

The quantity of these metals which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but still increased the value of gold above silver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in those parts. Spain, that was of course the best judge of the proportion, settled it as one to sixteen in the coin of the kingdom, and this system, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout Europe.

This proportion still exists; but we have no reason on that account to contradict those who had foretold that it would alter. If gold has fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, since the Brazils furnish a great quantity of it, this is owing to particular circumstances, which do

do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now used for setting of jewels, and for gilding, which has prevented the price of silver from falling so much as it would have done if our fashions had not altered. It is this same spirit of luxury that has always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

At all times men have been fond of making a parade of their riches, either because originally they were the reward of strength, and the mark of power; or because they have every where obtained that regard which is due only to abilities and virtue. A desire of attracting the attention of others, prompts a man to ornament himself with the choicest and most brilliant things nature can supply. The same vanity, in this respect, prevails among the savages as in the civilized nations. Of all the substances that represent the splendour of opulence, none is so precious as the diamond; nor has any been of such value in trade, or so ornamental in society. There are diamonds of all colours, and of every shade of the several colours. The diamond has the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the saphire, and the green of the emerald. This last is the dearest when it is of a beautiful tint. The rose diamonds, blue and yellow are the next in value. The yellowish and the blackish are least esteemed. Transparency and clearness are the natural and essential properties of the diamond, to which art has added

BOOK IX. ded the brilliant and ſparkling luſtre of the ſeveral faces.

THERE are very few diamond mines. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the Eaſt-Indies. The oldeſt is in the river Gouel, that comes down from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Soulempour, from the name of a village ſituated near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. Very few diamonds have ever been taken out of it, as likewiſe out of the Succadan, a river in the iſland of Borneo. The chain of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal, has yielded infinitely more. They are not found in cluſters, but ſcattered up and down, in a ſandy, ſtony and barren ſoil; lying at ſix, eight, ten and twelve feet below the ſurface, and ſometimes deeper. The right of digging for them is purchaſed, and the purchaſer is ſometimes enriched and ſometimes ruined, according as he is either ſucceſsful or unfortunate.

SOME apprehenſions were raiſed that the continual wars in India would put an end to this ſource of riches, but theſe were removed by a diſcovery that was made at Serra-de-Frio in Brazil. Some ſlaves who were condemned to look for gold, uſed to find ſome little bright ſtones, that they threw away among the ſand and gravel. Some curious miners preſerved ſeveral of theſe ſingular pebbles, which were ſhewn to Pedro d'Almeyda, governor general of the mines. As he had been at Goa, he ſuſ-

ſuſpected that they might be diamonds. To aſcertain this point the court of Liſbon in 1730 commiſſioned d'Acugna, her miniſter in Holland, to make neceſſary inquiries. He put ſome of theſe pebbles into the hands of able artificers, who having cut them, declared they were very fine diamonds.

THE Portugueſe immediately ſearched for them with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Rio Janeiro fleet brought home 1146 ounces. This produced ſuch a plenty, that their price fell conſiderably; but the miniſtry took ſuch meaſures as ſoon made them riſe to their original value, which they have maintained ever ſince. They conferred on a company the excluſive right of ſearching for and ſelling diamonds; and even to reſtrain the avidity of the company itſelf, it was required to employ no more than 600 ſlaves in that buſineſs. It has ſince been permitted to employ as many as it pleaſes, upon condition that 1500 * livres are paid for every miner. In both contracts, the court has reſerved to itſelf all diamonds that ſhall exceed a certain number of carrats.

A LAW which forbad on pain of death to incroach upon this privilege, was not ſufficient to inſure the obſervance of it. It was imagined to be more effectual to depopulate the places that lay near that rich mine, and to make a ſolitary waſte of all the regions that might be tempted to interfere in ſo lucrative a trade. Throughout the ſpace of a hundred leagues, there is but one large village left,

* 65l. 12s. 6d.

BOOK IX. left, which is wholly inhabited by the company's agents and slaves.

THEIR privilege constantly protected by the mother country, has never met with the least opposition. The government itself is their agent in Europe. Whatever be the produce of the mines, which must necessarily be fluctuating, the court delivers annually, to one single contractor, diamonds to the value of 12,500,000 livres*. They engage to sell no others, and hitherto this engagement has been held sacred. They are bought up in their rough state by the English and Dutch, who cut them, and then dispose of them all over Europe, but chiefly in France, where the greatest consumption is made. They are neither so hard nor so clear as those of the East-Indies, nor do they sparkle so much, but the are whiter. They are sold ten per cent. cheaper, supposing the weights to be equal.

THE finest diamonds in the world are, that of the Great Mogul, which weighs 279 carrats and one sixteenth; that of the Grand Duke, which weighs 139 carrats; the great Sancy, of 106 carrats; and the Pitt, 136 carrats three grains. All these are still very trifling, compared to the diamond sent from Brazil to the king of Portugal; which weighs 1680 carrats, or twelve ounces and a half. As we know of no proportion by which to ascertain the value of such a gem, an English writer has ventured to estimate it at 1,298,000,000 of livres,

* 546,875l.

livres†. A great abatement must be made in this estimate, if, as some very skillful lapidaries suspect, it should prove to be but a topaz. BOOK IX.

It is not known whether the diamonds of Brazil grow in the valleys where they are found, or whether they are brought down by an infinite number of torrents that rush into them, and by five small rivers that flow from the neighbouring mountains. What is certain is, that the diamonds do not come from a quarry, that they are scattered about; and that they are picked up in larger quantities in the rainy seasons and after violent storms.

The gold and diamond mines, added to a rich culture, should have made Brazil the chief colony in the world; but in order to effect this, it should have been preserved from intestine commotions and foreign invasions. Both these objects therefore were taken into consideration.

Measures taken by the court of Lisbon to secure the produce of the mines.

All the mines were situated in the captainships of St. Vincent and Rio Janeiro, and in the adjacent lands. Some were in the hands of the Paulists, and the rest lay exposed to their inroads. As those banditti were too numerous and too valiant to be brought into subjection by force, it was thought advisable to treat with them. As they could make no use of their new acquired wealth, without a free communication with the ports where the luxuries and conveniencies of Europe were to be purchased, they were more tractable than was expected. They consented to pay, like the rest of the

* 56,787,500l.

BOOK IX. the Portugueſe, a fifth of their gold; but they determined the amount of this tribute themſelves, and never made it what it ought to have been. The government was prudent enough not to pay any attention to this fraud. They foreſaw that the connections and the new way of life the Pauliſts were engaged in, would gradually ſoften their manners, and that ſooner or later they would be brought to ſubmit. This revolution accordingly happened about the year 1730. An eloquent, active, and artful man ſucceeded in prevailing upon the principal men among thoſe adventurers, and the multitude followed their example. The whole republic acknowledged the authority of the court of Liſbon, and in the ſame manner as all the other Portugueſe in the Brazils.

BEFORE this great event, the town of Rio Janeiro had been fortified, which is the mart for the produce of moſt of the mines, and of the commodities that are procured from the neighbouring captainſhips for the conſumption of Europe. The bay in which it is ſituated was firſt diſcovered in 1555 by Dias de Solis. Some French proteſtants, who were perſecuted in their own country, made a ſmall ſettlement there under the guidance of Villegagnon. This ſettlement conſiſted only of fifteen or twenty huts, made of boughs and covered over with graſs, after the manner of the ſavages in thoſe parts. Some ſmall bulwarks that were erected for planting of cannon, occaſioned the name of Fort Coligni to be given to it. It

was

was deſtroyed three years after by Emanuel de Sa, who laid the foundation of a town on the continent, which afterwards became conſiderable by the culture of tobacco, and eſpecially of ſugar. Its ſituation at ſo great a diſtance from Europe, in 22° 22′ ſouth latitude, made it reaſonable to imagine that moderate fortifications would be ſufficient to defend it. But the temptation of attacking it having increaſed in proportion as it grew richer, it was thought proper to ſtrengthen it with additional works. Theſe were already very conſiderable, when Du Guay Trouin took it in 1711, with ſuch intrepidity and ſkill, as redounded much to his honour, and was a great addition to the fame he had already acquired. The new fortifications that have ſince been added to thoſe the French had maſtered, have not made the town more impregnable, as it may be attacked on other ſides, where the landing is very practicable. If gold can make its way into brazen towers through iron gates, much more will iron break down the gates that defend gold and diamonds. And indeed the court of Liſbon has not thought it ſufficient to fortify Rio Janeiro. BOOK IX.

Between the captainſhip of St. Vincent and the mouth of the Plata, is a barren coaſt, about 150 leagues in length. As nothing invited the Portugueſe, to ſettle there, it was always totally neglected. But the gold lately found in the rivers that water thoſe deſerts, has attracted ſome coniſts there; and the government has beſtowed its

BOOK IX. its attention in endeavonring to give ſome ſtability to this new channel of wealth. It has eſtabliſhed ſome poſts along the coaſt, and fortified St. Catherine.

THIS iſland, which is only parted from the continent by a very ſmall canal, is about nine leagues long, and two leagues broad. Though the land is not low, it is not ſeen at a diſtance, becauſe it is ſhaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual ſpring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables which are ſo welcome to ſailors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills intercept the circulation of air, and make it conſtantly damp and unwholeſome.

ONE hundred and fifty or two hundred banditti, who had taken refuge in this iſland towards the beginning of this century, acknowledged the authority of Portugal, but did not adopt the intereſted and excluſive ſyſtem of that ſtate. They admitted indiſcriminately the ſhips of all nations that were ſailing to the South Seas, and gave them the produce of their iſland in exchange for arms, brandy, linen and wearing apparel. Beſides their contempt for gold, they ſhewed an indifference for all the conveniences that nature did not ſupply them with, which would have done honour to virtuous men.

THE ſcum and refuſe of civilized bodies may ſometimes produce a well-regulated ſociety. The iniquity of our laws, the unjuſt diſtribution of pro-

property, the miſeries of want, the inſolence and impunity of wealth, and the abuſe of power, often make rebels and criminals. If we collect together all thoſe unfortunate men who are baniſhed from ſociety by the too great rigour and often the injuſtice of the laws; and give them an intrepid, generous, humane and enlightened chief; we ſhall make theſe profligate men become honeſt, tractable and rational. If their neceſſities urge them to war, they will become conquerors; and to aggrandize themſelves they will violate the rights of nations, though ſtrict obſervers of their own reciprocal duties: ſuch were the Romans. If for want of an able leader, they are left to chance and natural events, they will be miſchievous, reſtleſs, rapacious, unſettled, for ever at war, either among themſelves or with their neighbours: ſuch were the Pauliſts. Laſtly, if they can more eaſily live upon the natural fruits of the earth, or by agriculture and trade, than by plunder; they will contract the virtues proper to their ſituation, and the mild inclinations that ariſe from a rational love of eaſe. Civilized by the happineſs and ſecurity of an honeſt and peaceable life, they will reſpect in others thoſe rights which they themſelves enjoy, and will barter the ſuperfluities of their produce, for the conveniencies of other nations: ſuch were the people who had taken refuge at St. Catherine's.

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Banished from their native country by the dread of thoſe atrocious puniſhments too often inflicted on ſlight offences, they formed a commer-

BOOK IX. cial settlement, which was beneficial even to the country that had rejected them. About the year 1738, the crown sent them a governor, and fortified their harbour. As it is far superior to any on that coast, it is easy to foresee that, if the riches of those parts answer the expectations that have been raised of them, that asylum of vagabonds will in time become the chief colony of the Brazils, and the most considerable sea-port in all South-America.

Means employed to revive agriculture in the Brazils, which was abandoned on account of the mines.

It appears from this account, that the court of Lisbon has taken the most prudent measures to secure to itself the produce of the mines. The same attention has not been paid to the culture of lands, nor has that point been so well settled; yet that inestimable source of riches was then in a critical situation that required mature consideration.

All the European nations that had settlements in America, began to cultivate the same productions that had long enriched the Brazils. This competition had reduced the price of those commodities; and the Portuguese, notwithstanding they laboured as much as ever, found that their profits grew constantly less. These labours became irksome to them, and many abandoned them entirely, tempted by the hopes of enriching themselves by picking up gold. Had the mother country understood her true interest, and been less elated with this new source of riches, the misfortunes it gave rise to, might have been prevented. This might easily have been done, by taking off

the

the enormous duties which the colonies paid for all the goods they exported or imported; or if it had been found neceſſary, by giving encouragements, which her new treaſures enabled her to do with a liberal hand. This would have induced the planter, who knew his ſoil to be far ſuperior to that of the Antilles, and was not ignorant of the other advantages he had over the coloniſts engaged in clearing thoſe iſlands, to perſevere in a labour which muſt procure him a comfortable ſubſiſtence, if not an ample fortune, without any anxiety or uncertainty. BOOK IX.

All perſons who have attentively obſerved America, know that the coaſts of Brazil are very fertile. The ſugar-canes are ſtronger than thoſe of the rival colonies, and other productions have the ſame ſuperiority. The inhabitants are not reduced to the neceſſity of manuring a poor or an exhauſted ſoil. There is ſuch plenty of land, that when one piece of ground is ſpent, a freſh one may be broke up, that will yield plentiful crops without much trouble. The inland parts only want hands to till them, and many navigable rivers are ready to convey the produce to the ſea. The plantations are never deſtroyed by hurricanes, or parched with drought. There are few ſituations in the Brazils where the intemperature of the air ſhortens the lives of thoſe who are uſefully employed in the labours of the fields, and none where the inhabitants are ſwept away by that dreadful mortality, ſo frequent in many parts of America.

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Every undertaking is carried on with eaſe by the aſſiſtance of the numberleſs flocks with which the plains are covered. The ſlave does not impatiently expect his ſubſiſtence to be conveyed to him over ſtormy ſeas, which when it arrives is often at ſuch an immoderate price, that he cannot always procure a ſufficiency. He finds without much trouble a wholeſome and plentiful proviſion upon the very land he cultivates. The maſter, on his part, can be under no apprehenſion of ſeeing an end to his good fortune, as he well knows that the colony has not yet attained to a tenth of its culture. One hundred and fifty thouſand blacks are already employed there, which are annually recruited by 7 or 8000, and may eaſily be multiplied. As it is cuſtomary for the planter to import them directly from Africa, he has nothing to fear from the negligence, unſkilfulneſs or diſhoneſty of the European merchants. His ſhips have the double advantage of making a ſmall ſtay at the end of their voyage, and of a ſhort and eaſy paſſage both going and coming.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe advantages, the culture of Brazil produced but 22,000,000 weight of raw ſugar, 11 or 12,000 bales of tobacco, a ſmall quantity of ſarſaparilla, cocoa, coffee, rice and indigo; to which were added ſome whalebone, woods for dying, building, and cabinet work, and 14 or 15,000 hides.

AMONG all the methods deviſed for increaſing the produce of ſo rich a country, the Portugueſe miniſtry

miniſtry have preferred that of giving freedom to the Brazilians, as being the ſafeſt, the cheapeſt, and the moſt humane. They declared in 1755, that for the future, all the ſubjects of the crown, whether they were ſo by their own free will or by compulſion, ſhould be deemed citizens to all intents and purpoſes, and ſhould be entitled to that appellation on the ſame terms as the Europeans. No other duties are impoſed upon them; the ſame path is open to their talents, and they may acquire the ſame honours. No other power has treated its American ſubjects with ſo much humanity. This ſingular circumſtance, though ſo ſtriking, has not even been taken notice of. Every one is intent upon politics, war, pleaſure or fortune. A revolution ſo favourable to mankind eſcapes every eye, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, in this enlightened and philoſophical age. The public good is the general topic of converſation, but we neither perceive it nor are ſenſible of it when it takes place.

PORTUGAL would receive a ſufficient compenſation for this indifference, if the new ſyſtem had produced the deſired effect. We ſhould ſee the Brazilians applying themſelves to the culture of their lands, and multiplying their produce. Their labour would enable them to procure numberleſs comforts which they have not enjoyed. The view of their happineſs would tempt the ſavages to quit their foreſts, and to embrace a more quiet way of life. By degrees, the influence of their example

BOOK IX. would spread, and in time, all Brazil would become civilized. A mutual confidence would be established between the Americans and the Europeans, and they would become but one nation. All would concur in producing the stock of an immense trade to the mother country, which on her part would not neglect to send a constant supply for the increasing consumption of the colony. An exact balance would be kept up between their reciprocal interests, and great care would be taken that nothing should interrupt so valuable a harmony. In a word, the Portuguese, by one act of humanity, would have made amends for all the injuries they have done the inhabitants of America.

UNFORTUNATELY these flattering prospects have all proved chimerical. It might have been reasonable to form expectations of their success, if this great change had been brought on by slow degrees. The Brasilians might insensibly have been attached to the comforts of society; they might have been trained up to useful labours; they would gradually have got the better of their natural laziness, and been inspired with a desire of possessing property. A happy revolution being thus prepared by these mild measures, much would still have remained to be done, which seems to have escaped the penetration of the ministry. They have neglected granting lands to the new subjects in convenient situations. They have not made them sufficient advances. They have not sup-

ſupplied them with able guides to direct them; nor have their chiefs been men of integrity and humanity. Nothing, therefore, has been done for the public good, by granting civil liberty to the Brazilians; and much has been done againſt it, by abridging the Europeans of their freedom, in ſubjecting them to the tyrannical monopoly of an excluſive privilege. No perſon had foreſeen, or even ſuſpected, a regulation ſo contrary to the genius of the nation.

Monopolies eſtabliſhed for the trade of Brazil.

PORTUGAL has made immenſe diſcoveries in Africa, and in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, without the aſſiſtance of any company. Mere ſocieties of merchants, in which kings, princes, and noblemen were concerned, fitted out large fleets for thoſe three parts of the world, raiſed the Portugueſe name above all others, and brought about the moſt important and intereſting revolution in commerce the univerſe had ever experienced. It was not to be expected that a nation, which, in the barbarous ages, had purſued the ineſtimable advantages of competition, would at laſt, in an enlightened age, adopt a pernicious ſyſtem, which, by collecting the principles of life and motion into a ſmall part of the body politic, leaves all the reſt in a ſtate of inactivity and ruin.

THIS ſyſtem was formed among the ruins of Liſbon, when the earth had as it were caſt out her inhabitants, and left them no aſylum or place of ſafety but on the ſea, or in the other hemiſphere. The dreadful ſhocks which had ſubverted that

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ſuperb capital were ſtill repeated, and the flames that had reduced it to aſhes were ſcarce extinguiſhed, when an excluſive company was eſtabliſhed, for the purpoſe of ſelling to foreign nations the wine ſo well known by the name of Port, which is drunk in many of the colonies, in part of the north, and eſpecially in England. The city of Oporto, the firſt in the kingdom for its population, riches and commerce, ſince Liſbon had as it were diſappeared, juſtly took the alarm, thinking that her trade would be ruined by this fatal alienation of the rights of the whole nation, in favour of a company. The province between the Douro and the Minho, the moſt fruitful in the kingdom, formed no further expectations from its cultures. Deſpair excited a ſpirit of ſedition among the people, and this gave occaſion to the cruelties of the government. Twelve hundred perſons were either executed, condemned to public labour, baniſhed to the forts in Africa, or reduced to poverty by the confiſcation of their poſſeſſions. The monopoly which had occaſioned all theſe misfortunes ſtill continued, and prevails even at this day, attended with all that train of evils which were foreſeen, even by thoſe who are leaſt converſant in political ſpeculation.

THIS fatal experiment, which ought to have enlightened the miniſtry, made no impreſſion upon them. They had already, ever ſince the 6th of June 1755, created the Maragnan company; and far from receding, they erected the Fernambucca

bucca company four years after, and thereby enſlaved all the northern part of Brazil. The ſtock of the firſt company conſiſted of 1200 ſhares, and the other of 3400. Their charter is for twenty years, and foreigners ſettled in Portugal may become proprietors. They exerciſe the moſt horrid tyranny over the immenſe coaſt that has been conſigned to them. This attempt againſt public liberty and the right of property has excited a violent ſpirit of animoſity, which is conſtantly kept up by the evident diminution of the productions.

We are ignorant of the reaſons that have induced the court of Liſbon to take a ſtep, which has given offence to all orders of the ſtate, and all parts of the monarchy. It is impoſſible that ſo tyrannical a meaſure ſhould have been adopted, with no other view than to prevent the contraband trade, as it hath been aſſerted. Beſides that excluſive companies are from their nature more likely to increaſe the contraband trade, it is well known that none is carried on in the ſouth of Brazil, the only part that is affected by the monopoly. The only foreign connections this part of America has, are the tranſactions of St. Catherine with the ſhips that frequent the South Seas, and thoſe of Rio-Janeiro with ſhips of different nations, which, under various pretences, put in there in their paſſage to and from the Eaſt Indies.

Whatever motives may have given riſe to charter companies, we may venture to affirm that among the powers of Europe, Portugal has not been

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been the greateſt loſer by this abſurd ſyſtem. That kingdom has adopted the fatal cuſtom of being in ſome meaſure a mere ſpectator of the trade that is carried on in its own colonies. So ſingular an infatuation has been brought on by degrees.

Cauſes of the decay of Portugal, and of its colonies.

THE firſt conqueſts of the Portugueſe in Africa and Aſia, did not ſtifle the ſeeds of their induſtry. Though Liſbon was become the general warehouſe for India goods, her own ſilken and woollen manufactures were ſtill carried on, and were ſufficient for the conſumption of the mother country and of Brazil. The national activity extended to every thing, and made ſome amends for the deficiency of population, which was becoming daily more conſiderable. Amidſt the various calamities that Spaniſh tyranny oppreſſed the kingdom with, the Portugueſe could not complain of a ceſſation of labour at home; nor was the number of manufactures much leſſened at the time when they recovered their liberty.

THE happy revolution that placed the Duke of Braganza upon the throne, was the period of this decay. A ſpirit of enthuſiaſm ſeized upon the people. Some of them croſſed the ſeas, in order to defend diſtant poſſeſſions againſt an enemy who was imagined to be more formidable than he really was. The reſt took up arms to cover the frontiers. The intereſts of the whole nation prevailed over private views, and every patriot was ſolicitous only for his country. It might naturally be expected that when the firſt enthuſiaſm was paſt, every one would reſume his uſual employment; but

but unfortunately the cruel war which followed that great event, was attended with ſuch devaſtations in an open country, that the people choſe rather not to work at all, than to expoſe themſelves to ſee the fruit of their labours continually deſtroyed. The miniſtry encouraged this ſpirit of indolence by meaſures which cannot be too ſeverely cenſured. BOOK IX.

THEIR ſituation put them under a neceſſity of forming alliances. Political reaſons ſecured to them all the enemies of Spain. The advantages they muſt neceſſarily reap from the diverſion made in Portugal, could not attach them to its intereſt. If the new court had formed ſuch extenſive views as from the nature of their enterpriſe it might be preſumed they had, they would have known that they had no need to make any conceſſions in order to acquire friends. By an ill-judged precipitation, they ruined their affairs. They gave up their trade to other powers, who were almoſt as much intereſted in its preſervation as they were themſelves. This infatuation made thoſe powers imagine they might venture any thing, and they therefore unreaſonably extended the privileges that had been granted them. The induſtry of the Portugueſe was deſtroyed by this competition, but was again revived by an error of the French miniſtry.

FRANCE, which then had but a ſmall quantity of bad tobacco, and no ſugar at all, in 1644, reſolved without any apparent reaſon, to prohibit the importation of ſugar and tobacco from Brazil. Portugal,

BOOK IX. tugal, by way of repriſal, prohibited the importation of all French manufactures, the only ones it valued at that time. Genoa immediately ſeized upon the ſilk trade, and has engroſſed it ever ſince; but the nation, after ſome heſitation, began in 1681, to manufacture their own woollen goods; and by the aſſiſtance of ſome Engliſh artificers, were enabled, in 1684, to prohibit ſeveral kinds of foreign cloth, and ſoon after to forbid them all.

ENGLAND, which had raiſed her own trade with Portugal upon the ruins of that of France, was much chagrined at theſe arrangements. For a long time, the Engliſh ſtrove to open the communication afreſh, and more than once when they thought they had accompliſhed this, they found themſelves totally diſappointed in their expectations. It was impoſſible to diſcover in what manner theſe attempts would end, when a revolution happened in the political ſyſtem of Europe, which at once overturned all the former ideas.

A GRANDSON of Lewis XIV. was called to the throne of Spain. All nations were alarmed at this acceſſion of power to the houſe of Bourbon, which they already thought too formidable, and too ambitious. Portugal in particular, which has always conſidered France as a firm friend, now beheld in her an enemy who muſt neceſſarily deſire, and, perhaps, promote her ruin. This induced her to apply for the protection of England, which being accuſtomed to turn every negociation to her own commercial advantage took care not to neglect ſo favourable

vourable an opportunity. The Engliſh ambaſſador Methuen, a profound and able negociator, ſigned a treaty, on the 27th of December 1703, by which the court of Liſbon engaged to permit the importation of all Britiſh woollen goods, on the ſame footing as before the prohibition; upon condition that the Portugal wines ſhould pay a duty one third leſs than thoſe of France, to the cuſtom-houſe in England.



The advantages of this ſtipulation were very certain for one of the parties, but only probable for the other. England obtained an excluſive privilege for her manufactures, as the prohibition remained in full force with regard to thoſe of other nations; but granted nothing on her part, having already ſettled, for her own intereſt, what ſhe now artfully repreſented as a great favour done to Portugal. Since France had bought no more cloths of the Engliſh, they had obſerved that the high price of French wines was prejudicial to the balance of trade, and had therefore endeavoured to leſſen the conſumption, by laying heavier duties upon them. They have again increaſed them from the ſame motive, and ſtill made a merit of it to the court of Liſbon, as being a proof of their friendſhip,

The Portugueſe manufactures fell, being unable to ſupport the competition of the Engliſh. Great Britain clothed her new ally, and as the wine, oil, ſalt, and fruit ſhe bought, was a trifle in compariſon to what ſhe ſold, it was neceſſary

that

BOOK IX. that the deficiency ſhould be ſupplied with the gold of Brazil. The balance inclined more and more in favour of the Engliſh, and it was ſcarce poſſible that it ſhould not.

ALL perſons who are converſant with the theory of commerce, or have attended to its revolutions, know that an active, rich and intelligent nation, which has once appropriated to itſelf any conſiderable branch of trade, will ſoon engroſs all the leſs important branches of it. It has ſuch great advantages over its competitors, that it diſguſts them, and makes itſelf maſter of the countries where its induſtry is exerted. Thus it is that Great Britain has found means to engroſs all the productions of Portugal and her colonies.

IT furniſhes Portugal with clothing, food, hard ware, materials for building, and all articles of luxury, and returns her own materials manufactured. This employs a million of Engliſh artificers or huſbandmen.

IT furniſhes her with ſhips, and with naval and warlike ſtores for her ſettlements in America, and carries on all her navigation in Europe.

IT carries on the whole money trade of Portugal. Money is borrowed in London at three or three and a half per cent, and negociated at Liſbon, where it is worth ten. In ten years time, the capital is returned by the intereſt, and ſtill remains due.

IT engroſſes all the inland trade. There are Engliſh houſes ſettled at Liſbon which receive all the

the commodities of their own country, and diſtribute them to merchants, who diſpoſe of them in the provinces, moſtly for the profit of their employers. A ſmall profit is the only reward of this induſtry, which is diſgraceful to a nation that works at home for the benefit of another.

It carries off even the commiſſion trade. The fleets deſtined for the Brazils are the ſole property of the Engliſh. The riches they bring back muſt belong to them. They will not even ſuffer them to paſs through the hands of the Portugueſe, and only borrow or purchaſe their name, becauſe they cannot do without it. Theſe ſtrangers diſappear as ſoon as they have acquired the fortune they intend, and leave that nation impoveriſhed and exhauſted, at whoſe expence they have enriched themſelves. It is demonſtrable from the regiſters of the fleets, that in the ſpace of ſixty years, that is, from the diſcovery of the mines to the year 1756, 2,400,000,000 livres * worth of gold have been brought away from Brazil, and yet in 1754, all the ſpecie in Portugal amounted to no more than 15 or 20,000,000 †, and at that time the nation owed 72,000,000 §. From this account we may eaſily judge of its ſituation.

But what Liſbon has loſt, London nas gained. England, by her natural advantages, was only intended for a ſecondary power. Though the changes that had ſucceſſively happened in the religion, government,

* 105,000,000l. † On an average not much more than 750,000l. § 3,150,000l.

BOOK IX. vernment, and induſtry of the Engliſh had improved their condition, increaſed their ſtrength, and unfolded their genius, they could not poſſibly act a capital part. They knew by experience that the means which, in ancient governments, could raiſe a nation to any height, when without any connection with its neighbours, it emerged as it were ſingly out of nothing, were inſufficient in modern times, when the intercourſe of nations making the advantages of each common to all, left to numbers and ſtrength their natural ſuperiority. Since ſoldiers, generals and nations have hired themſelves to engage in war; ſince the power of gold hath opened every cabinet and made every treaty; England had learned that the greatneſs of a ſtate depended upon its riches, and that its political power was eſtimated in proportion to its millions. This truth, which muſt have alarmed the ambition of the Engliſh, became favourable to them as ſoon as they had prevailed upon Portugal to depend on them for neceſſaries, and had bound them by treaties to an impoſſibility of procuring them from any other power. Thus was that kingdom made dependent on a falſe friend for food and raiment. Theſe were, to borrow the expreſſion of a certain politician, like two anchors which the Britons had faſtened upon that empire. They went further ſtill: they made the Portugueſe loſe all conſideration, all weight, all influence in the general ſyſtem of affairs, by perſuading them to have neither forces nor alliances. Truſt to us, ſaid

ſaid the Engliſh, for your ſafety; we will negociate and fight for you. Thus without bloodſhed or labour, and without experiencing any of the evils that attend upon conqueſt, they made themſelves more effectually maſters of Portugal than the Portugueſe were of the mines of Brazil.

All things are connected together, both in nature and politics. It is hardly poſſible that a nation ſhould loſe its agriculture and its induſtry, without a viſible decay of the liberal arts, letters, ſciences, and all the ſound principles of policy and government. The kingdom of Portugal furniſhes a melancholy inſtance of this truth. Since Great Britain has condemned it to a ſtate of inaction, it is fallen into ſuch barbariſm as is ſcarce credible. The light which has ſhone all over Europe, ſtopping at the Pyrennees, which ſeem to reflect it back again, hath not extended itſelf to the frontiers of Portugal. That kingdom has even been obſerved to degenerate, and to attract the contempt of thoſe, whoſe emulation and jealouſy it had before excited. The advantage of having enjoyed excellent laws, while all other ſtates were involved in horrible confuſion; this ineſtimable advantage has been of no ſervice to the Portugueſe. They have loſt the turn of their genius, by forgetting the principles of reaſon, morality, and politics. The efforts they may make to emerge from this ſtate of degeneracy and infatuation, might, poſſibly, prove ineffectual; becauſe good reformers are not eaſily to be found in that nation which ſtands moſt in

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need of them. Men who are qualified to cauſe revolutions in empires, are generally prepared to it by previous circumſtances; and ſeldom ſtart up at once. They generally have their forerunners, who have awakened the minds of the people, diſpoſed them to receive the light, and prepared the neceſſary means for bringing about theſe great changes. As there is no appearance of any ſuch preparatory ſteps in Portugal, it is to be feared the nation muſt ſtill continue in this humiliating condition, unleſs it will adopt the maxims of more enlightened ſtates, with proper precautions ſuited to its ſituation; and unleſs it calls in the aſſiſtance of foreigners capable of directing it.

Means of reſtoring Portugal and its colonies.

THE firſt ſtep towards its recovery, that leading one without which all the reſt would be unſteady, uncertain, uſeleſs, and perhaps, dangerous, would be to ſhake off the yoke of England. Portugal in her preſent ſituation, cannot ſubſiſt without foreign commodities; therefore, it is her intereſt to promote the greateſt competition of ſellers ſhe poſſibly can, in order to reduce the price of what ſhe is obliged to buy. As it is no leſs the intereſt of the Portugueſe to diſpoſe of the overplus of their own produce and that of the colonies, they ought, for the ſame reaſon, to invite as many purchaſers as poſſible to their harbours, to enhance the price and increaſe the quantity of their exports. Theſe political meaſures are certainly liable to no objection.

BY the treaty of 1703, the Portugueſe are only obliged to permit the importation of woollen goods

goods from England, on the terms ſtipulated before the prohibition. They might grant the ſame privilege to other nations, without incurring the reproach of having broken their engagement. A liberty granted to one nation, was never interpreted as an excluſive and perpetual privilege, that could deprive the prince who granted it, of his right of extending it to other nations. He muſt neceſſarily be the judge of what ſuits his own kingdom. It is not eaſy to conceive what rational objection a Britiſh miniſter could make to a king of Portugal who ſhould tell him; I will encourage merchants to come to my dominions, who will feed my ſubjects as cheap and cheaper than you; merchants who will take the produce of my colonies, from whence you will receive nothing but gold.



We may judge of the effect this wiſe conduct would have, by the events that have taken place, independent of this ſpirited reſolution. Portugal receives annually to the value of ſeventy millions of livres* in foreign commodities, which ſhe either pays for with the produce of her land, and with gold and diamonds, or remains in debt. The allurement of a profit of thirty-five per cent. which is not uncommon in this trade, induces all nations to be concerned in it as much as poſſible; nor are they deterred from it by the well-grounded fear of being never paid, or at leaſt very late. Moſt of them have been ſucceſsful in their endeavours. France and Italy have engroſſed one third of thoſe im-



* 3,062,500l.

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imports. Holland, Hamburgh, and the reſt of the north carry off as much; and England, which formerly abſorbed almoſt the whole, takes up the remaining third. It appears from the regiſters of the cuſtoms, that in the ſpace of five years, from 1762, to 1766 incluſively, England has ſent goods to Portugal only to the value of 95,613,547 livres 10 ſous*; and has received commodities to the amount of 37,761,075 livres†; ſo that the balance in money has been but 57,692,475 livres§.

THE circumſtance which deceives all Europe, with regard to the extent of the Engliſh trade, is that all the gold of Brazil is conveyed by the road of the Thames. This ſeems to be a natural and neceſſary conſequence of the affairs carried on by that nation. But the truth is, that metals are not allowed to go out of Portugal, and, therefore, can only be brought away by men of war, which are not liable to be ſearched; that Great Britain ſends two every week, as regularly as the ſea will permit; and that theſe ſhips bring the riches of all nations into their iſland, from whence the merchants diſperſed in the ſeveral countries receive them either in kind, or in bills of exchange, paying one per cent.

THE Britiſh miniſtry, who are not the dupes of theſe dazzling appearances, and are but too ſenſible of the diminution of this moſt valuable branch of their trade, have for ſome time paſt taken incredible pains

* 4,183,092l. 14s. 0d. ¾.
† 1,652,047l. 0s. 7d. ½.
§ 2,524,045l. 15s. 7d. ½.

pains to reſtore it to its former ſtate. Their endeavours will never ſucceed, becauſe this is one of thoſe events which are not within the reach of political wiſdom. If the evil aroſe from favours granted to rival nations, or if England had been debarred from her former privileges, ſome well conducted negociations might occaſion a new revolution. But the court of Liſbon has never varied its conduct neither with Great Britain nor with other ſtates. Her ſubjects have had no other inducement to give the preference to the merchandiſe brought them from all parts of Europe, than becauſe thoſe of their former friends were ſo loaded with taxes, that they bore an exorbitant price. The Portugueſe will procure many articles at a ſtill more reaſonable rate, whenever their government ſhall eſtabliſh a perfect equality in their ports between all nations.

THE court of Liſbon, after removing in ſome meaſure the diſadvantages of their trade, which is merely paſſive, ſhould endeavour to make it active. Their own turn, the taſte of the age, and the deſire of fame, ſeem to incline them to pretty conſiderable manufactures. A quantity of coarſe woollen ſtuffs is already woven in the inland provinces, though the wool is too ſhort, and might be better employed to other purpoſes. The government has ſilk manufactures at Liſbon and at Lamego, which coſt more than they are worth. If they do not weave gold or ſilver, it is becauſe the wear of them is ſtrictly prohibited both in the mo-

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ther country, and in the colonies. We have already proved that this kind of induſtry was not fit for Spain; and for the ſame reaſons it is improper for Portugal; which ought rather to turn its views to the encouragement of agriculture.

Its climate is favourable to the production of ſilk, of which there was formerly great plenty. The baptiſed Jews made it their buſineſs to breed worms, and to prepare the ſilk, till they were perſecuted by the inquiſition, which was ſtill more ſevere and more powerful under the houſe of Braganza, than it had ever been under the Spaniſh dominion. Moſt of the manufacturers fled to the kingdom of Valencia, and thoſe who ſold the produce of their labours removed with their effects to England and Holland, which improved the activity of both thoſe countries. This diſperſion was the ruin of the ſilk trade in Portugal, ſo that no trace of it remains at preſent; but it might be reſumed.

The next cultivation that ought to be attended to, is that of the olive tree. It is now carried on, and conſtantly ſupplies all the oil that is wanted for home conſumption, beſides a ſmall quantity every year for exportation; but this is not ſufficient. It would be an eaſy matter for Portugal to ſhare in a more direct manner with other nations the profits they draw from this production, which is wholly confined to the ſouthern provinces of Europe.

Their

THEIR wool is likewiſe capable of improvement. Thou it is inferior to that of Spain, the French, the Dutch, and even the Engliſh, buy up twelve or thirteen thouſand quintals every year, and would purchaſe a greater quantity if it were brought to the market. Thoſe who have travelled through Portugal, with that ſpirit of obſervation, which enables men to form a right judgment of things, are of opinion that double the quantity might be obtained, without injuring the other branches of induſtry, and that on the contrary, it might tend to their improvement.

THE trade of ſalt ſeems to have been more cloſely attended to. The north annually takes off 150 tons, which may coſt 1,500,000*. It is corroſive, and takes off from the weight and flavour of our food; but has the advantage of preſerving fiſh and meat longer than French ſalt. This property will occaſion a greater demand for it in proportion as the navigation of the country is extended.

IT is impoſſible to ſay as much of their wines. They are ſo indifferent, that it is ſurpriſing how ſo many nations in Europe could ever think of making them their conſtant drink. It is ſtill more ſurpriſing how the Portugueſe miniſtry could ever make ſuch an ill uſe of their authority, as to put a ſtop to ſo profitable a culture. The order for rooting up the vines could only be dictated by private intereſt or falſe views. The pretence for ſo



* About 65,690l.

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extraordinary a law is so absurd, that no one has given credit to it. It is very well known that the ground where the vines have stood, can never be fit for the culture of corn.

But if this were ever so practicable, it would still be an unwarrantable infringement of the sacred and unalienable right of property. In a monastery every thing belongs to all: nothing is the property of any individual, but the joint property of the whole community; it is one single animal with twenty, thirty, forty, a thousand, ten thousand heads. But it is not the same in society. Here every innividual has the disposal of himself and his property; he possesses a share of the general wealth, which he is absolute master of, and may use, or even abuse, as he thinks proper. A private man must be at liberty to let his ground lie fallow, if he chuses it, without the intervention of administration. If government assumes a right to judge of the abuse of property, it will soon take upon itself to judge of the use of it; and then every true idea of liberty and property will be destroyed. If it can require me to employ my own property according to its fancy; if it inflict punishments on my disobedience, my negligence or my folly, and that under pretence of general and public utility, I am no longer absolute master of my own, I am only an administrator, who is to be directed by the will of another. The man who lives in society, must in this respect be left at liberty to be a bad citizen, because he will soon be se-

ſeverely puniſhed by poverty, and by contempt, which is worſe than poverty. He who burns his own corn, or throws his money away, is a fool too rarely to be met with, to make it neceſſary to bind him by prohibitive laws, which would be injurious in themſelves, by their infringement of the univerſal and ſacred notion of property. In every well regulated conſtitution, the buſineſs of the magiſtrate muſt be confined to what concerns the public ſafety, inward tranquillity, the conduct of the army, and the obſervance of the laws. Wherever authority is extended beyond this, we may affirm that the people are expoſed to oppreſſion. If we take a ſurvey of all ages and nations, that great and ſublime idea of public utility will preſent itſelf to our imagination under the ſymbolical figure of a Hercules, cruſhing one part of the people with his club, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the other part, who are not ſenſible that they are ſoon to fall under the ſame ſtrokes.

To return to Portugal; that country ſtands in need of other meaſures than have hitherto been purſued to reſtore the moſt important of its cultures. It is ſo inconſiderable, that the Portugueſe annually import three fourths of the corn they conſume. It is well known that before they had applied themſelves to navigation, they ſupplied great part of the Mediterranean with corn, and ſometimes England itſelf. Their own wants now call for the exertion of their activity. Nothing but a total impoſſibility can juſtify a government, that ſuffers

BOOK IX. suffers both the mother country and her colonies to depend upon other nations for the common neceſſaries of life.

THE court of Liſbon would lay under a fatal miſtake, if it ſhould imagine that time alone will bring about ſo great a revolution. It behoves it to pave the way for this revolution, by diminiſhing the taxes, and by changing the mode of raiſing them, which is often more oppreſſive than the tax itſelf. When the impediments are removed, every kind of encouragement muſt be given. One of the moſt fatal prejudices, and moſt deſtructive of the happineſs of men and the proſperity of nations, is that which ſuppoſes that men only are wanting for the purpoſes of agriculture. The experience of all ages has ſhewn, that much cannot be required of the earth, till much has been beſtowed upon it. There are not, perhaps, in all Portugal, twenty farmers who are able to advance the neceſſary ſums. Government ſhould, therefore, aſſiſt them. A revenue of about forty-four millions *, near one half of which it draws from the mother country, and the reſt from the colonies, will facilitate this liberality, which is frequently more oeconomical than the moſt ſordid avarice.

THIS firſt change will be productive of others. The arts neceſſary to agriculture will infallibly riſe and grow up with it. Induſtry will extend its ſeveral branches, and Portugal will no longer exhibit an inſtance of a ſavage people in the midſt of civilized

* 1,925,000l.

vilized nations. The citizen will no longer be forced to devote himself to celibacy, or to leave his country in search of employment. Commodious houses will be erected upon ruins; and manufactures supply the place of convents. The subjects of this almost ruined state, which now resemble those scattered and solitary shrubs that are found upon the soil of the richest mines, will no longer be reduced to those necessities they now experience, notwithstanding their mountains and rivers of gold. The wealth of the state will be kept in constant circulation, and will no longer be buried in the churches. Superstition will be banished, together with ignorance, despair, and indolence. Those who have no other object in view, but to commit excesses, and expiate them, who are fond of miracles and magic arts, will then be inflamed with public spirit. The nation freed from its fetters, and restored to its natural activity, will exert itself with a spirit worthy of its former exploits.



Portugal will then recollect, that she was indebted to her navy for her opulence, her glory, and her strength, and will attend to the means of restoring it. It will no longer be reduced to eighteen men of war, ill built, and as ill manned and armed, and about a hundred merchant-men, from six to eight hundred tons burden, which are still in a more ruinous state. Her population, which has insensibly sunk from three millions of souls to eighteen hundred thousand, will increase and fill her

BOOK IX. her harbours and roads with active fleets. The revival of her navy, will be doubtless difficult for a power whose flag is not known on any of the European seas, and which, for a century past, has given up her navigation to any power that would attend to it; but every obstacle will be surmounted by a wise and prudent government. When once it carries on all the navigation that should belong to it, immense sums will be retained in the kingdom, which are now constantly expended for freight.

THIS change will extend its influence to the islands that are dependent on Portugal. The port of Madeira will no longer be open to the English. The mother country will have the sole power of disposing of twenty five or thirty thousand pipes of madeira which that island produces. It will be in the roads of Lisbon and Oporto that all nations will supply themselves with that wine, which is in such request in the four quarters of the globe. The Azores will furnish Portugal for the purposes of agriculture, for its own consumption, and for salt provisions, with oxen, which it is prevented from breeding by the dryness of its soil; and the Cape de Verd islands will supply it with more mules than it wants. The New England people formerly procured them from thence to carry to the Caribbee islands; but a great mortality that happened in 1750, put an end to that trade. This deficiency will soon be made good by a proper attention to the breeding of this cattle.

THESE

THESE alterations will be productive of ſtill more material ones. Brazil, which has no other defect than that of being too large for Portugal; which has only a few habitations ſcattered along the ſea coaſts; and has no other coloniſts in the inland parts, but ſuch as are employed in the mines, will then aſſume a new aſpect: its government will be new modelled. It will become evident how great a miſtake has been committed with regard to all modern nations, by transferring to the new diſcovered world all the abſurdities which the barbariſm of the feudal government had accumulated in the old through a long ſeries of ages. A few plain laws will be ſubſtituted in the place of the ſubtle arts of chicane, which are no more than refinements on tyranny, and an increaſe of oppreſſion.

THE execution of theſe laws will be ſecured, if employments are not ſold, and if a proper choice is made, and good governors appointed to command Para, Bahia, and Rio Janeiro, who ſhall be independent of each other, though the latter ſhall have the title of viceroy. The vigilance of the three chiefs will put an end to the treacheries and enormities which the Brazilian Portugueſe have too long been guilty of, or cauſed their ſlaves to commit.

HAVING thus reformed their manners, the next ſtep will be to regulate their adminiſtration. The liberty of ſending out ſhips from the mother country at pleaſure, which has been ſubſtituted to the op-

BOOK IX. oppreſſive mode of carrying on trade by fleets, will be productive of other favouable innovations. Expeditions will not be confined to the roads of Liſbon and Oporto, becauſe as the other ports bear their part in the public expences, it is fit they ſhould enjoy the ſame advantages. Excluſive companies will be aboliſhed. That load of taxes, which is the bane of Europe, will no longer oppreſs the Brazils. This colony will no longer be devoured by thoſe numerous contractors who are the ruin of the moſt ſucceſsful labours. The mother country will be convinced that ſhe has no right to demand any thing of her colonies but their productions. Theſe productions themſelves will not in the firſt inſtance be clogged with enormous duties, which prevent them from being circulated. Gold, that mark of all other riches, that moſt valuable commodity of Brazil, freed from the fetters that obſtructed its progreſs, will freely circulate in all countries which can ſupply commodities in exchange for it. It will no longer be neceſſary that Dutch, French, and Engliſh men of war ſhould favour or conceal the fraudulent exportation of it under the ſanction of their flag.

AGRICULTURE, ennobled by liberty, will ſhake off the yoke of oppreſſion, to which ignorance, avarice, and deſpotiſm have made it ſubject. The means that will concur in promoting it will daily increaſe. The Portugueſe, who firſt opened Africa to other nations, have, notwithſtanding their decay, preſerved ſome conſiderable advantages in

that

that country. They poſſeſs large colonies on the coaſt moſt favourable for the ſlave trade, while the rival nations have only ſmall factories there; and ſome are deprived even of this reſource. Theſe excluſive poſſeſſions, which enable them to procure their negroes one third cheaper than they are to be had in the ports where there is a competition, will determine the Brazilians to increaſe the number of them, when once the duty is taken off, which is now ten per cent. upon the heads of theſe unhappy Africans, as it is upon all commodities that come from Europe. The mother country will give a further encouragement to this trade, ſince even the call of humanity cannot prevail upon ambition to diſcontinue it, by permitting the colony to make their own ſalt, inſtead of ſending for it from Portugal, as it is now compelled to do. This will facilitate the fitting out of ſhips, by adding ſalt beef and pork to the proviſions of the crew, which hitherto have been only caſſada and dried fiſh. Then, inſtead of thirty or forty ſhips, from ſixty to a hundred tons burden, which are annually fitted out, one hundred will be diſpatched, and in proceſs of time a greater number if it ſhould be thought neceſſary.

This improvement might be haſtened, by permitting a direct navigation from the Brazils to the Eaſt Indies. This trade is peculiarly uſeful to Portugal; and her policy would require her to extend it as much as poſſible. As the Portugueſe neither have nor can have any manufactures of

their

BOOK IX.

their own, they ought to give the preference to thoſe linens and ſtuffs which are agreeable, and which are moſt ſuitable to their own climate and that of their colonies, and abſolutely neceſſary for their African factories. The mother country would not ſacrifice any advantage by aſſociating Brazil to this branch of induſtry. It cannot have forgot that it formed a company in 1723, which did not ſucceed. From that time, only one ſhip has been fitted out yearly, which for a long while put in at Bahia on its return from Aſia, and for ſome years paſt, calls for refreſhments at Angola, by order of the government to which it belongs. The direct voyages from Brazil would be much more frequent. Its contraband trade with Buenos Ayres would ſupply it with piaſtres for traffic, and it would find on the Amazon part of the materials for navigation. The banks of that immenſe river abound with wood of the moſt excellent kind. It is known to be very laſting, neither does the worm, which is the univerſal ſcourge of the navy, ever affect it, and the ſcurvy never appears on board the ſhips that are made of it. The difficulty ariſing from the want of hemp or flax is already removed. Two plants have been diſcovered, which grow in great plenty in the foreſts about Bahia, called *Gravata* and *Tieu*, which make very good thread for coarſe linen, ſail-cloth and ropes. Unfortnnately a private man in the neighbourhood has got a patent for fifteen years for the ſole working of it.

An

An infallible way to bring about theſe great changes ſpeedily, would be to open the ports of Brazil to all nations. Such a liberty would give the colony that activity which it never can acquire without it. The nations that ſail there would be intereſted in its proſperity and defence. It would be far more ſerviceable to the mother country, by the gradual increaſe of its cuſtoms than by a pernicious monopoly. Portugal that has no manufactures, muſt purſue a different ſyſtem from the other powers in Europe, who have more goods than they want to ſupply their American ſettlements; and the very competition that might be prejudicial to them, will certainly be very advantageous to the Portugueſe.

If the court of Liſbon does not adopt this ſyſtem, which no doubt may be liable to ſome objections, it muſt at leaſt repeal the law that forbids all foreigners from reſiding in the Brazils. Not fifty years ago, there were ſeveral Engliſh, Dutch, and French houſes in Brazil, whoſe induſtry encouraged every kind of labour. Far from driving them away by barbarouſly oppreſſing them, encouragements ought to have been given to fix them there, and to increaſe their number. Not that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, there is a ſcarcity of white people in theſe extenſive regions; for by a calculation that may be depended on, they amount to near 600,000. This is more than are to be found in any other colony; but the Creole Portugueſe are ſo indolent, ſo corrupt, ſo paſſionately

BOOK IX. addicted to pleasure, that they are become incapable of the least care and application to business. Perhaps, the only way to rouze this degenerate race, would be to set before their eyes some laborious men, to whom suitable parcels of land might be allotted.

THIS might easily be done. On the banks of the most navigable rivers are large plains that are no man's property, and might enrich any one who would take the pains to cultivate them. Even by the sea side it would be an easy matter to settle a great number of cultivators. On the first discovery of that country, government granted whole provinces to several noblemen under the title of captainships; but afterwards withdrew these grants, and gave in exchange, titles, pensions, or other marks of favour. This policy has brought into the crown a large extent of territory, which now lies waste, and might be usefully employed. An infinite number of English, French and Dutch colonists, whose plantations are exhausted, and many Europeans who are seized with a passion of making a fortune, so prevalent in this age, would remove thither with their industry and their whole stock.

THAT nothing might prevent them, they should be secured from the fury of the inquisition. That cruel tribunal has never, indeed, been erected in Brazil; but it has its emissaries there, who are more inhuman, if possible, than itself. It is still remembered, that from the year 1702, to

1718,

1718, thoſe infamous men ſent over to Europe a prodigious number of prieſts, monks, and proprietors of land, and even negroes, whom they accuſed of Judaiſm. Theſe oppreſſions ruined agriculture to ſuch a degree, that the fleets of 1724 and 1725 found no proviſions there. In 1728, the government enacted that for the future, if any coloniſt were taken up by the holy office, his goods and chattles and his ſlaves ſhould not be forfeited, and that his fortune ſhould deſcend to his heirs. The miſchief that was already done, could not be repaired by this decree, nor can mutual confidence be reſtored, till the authors of the misfortunes that have ruined the colony are recalled.

Even this precaution will not be ſufficient, unleſs the power of the clergy is abridged. Some ſtates have been known to favour the corruption of prieſts, in order to weaken the aſcendant that ſuperſtition gives them over the minds of the people. That this method is not always infallible, appears from what has happened in the Brazils, nor is this execrable policy reconcileable with the principles of morality. It would be more ſecure and more eligible to open the doors of the ſanctuary to all the citizens without diſtinction. Philip II, when he became maſter of Portugal, enacted that they ſhould be ſhut againſt all ſuch whoſe blood was tainted with any mixture with Jews, heretics, negroes or Indians. This diſtinction has given a dangerous ſuperiority to a ſet of men who

BOOK IX. were already too powerful. It has been abolished in the African settlements; why should not those of America enjoy the same privilege? Why, after taking from the clergy the authority they derived from their birth, should they not be abridged of the power they assume on account of their riches?

Some politicians have asserted, that no government ought ever to appoint a fixed income for the clergy, but that their spiritual services should be paid by those who have recourse to them. That this method would excite their zeal and vigilance. That they would grow daily more expert in the care of souls by experience, study, and application. These statesmen have been opposed by philosophers, who maintained that an oeconomy which would tend to increase the activity of the clergy, would be fatal to public tranquillity; and that it was better to lull that ambitious body into idleness, than to give it new strength. It is observed that churches and religious houses which have no settled income, are so many repositories of superstition, maintained at the expence of the lower class of people, where saints, miracles, relicks, and all the inventions with which imposture has loaded religion, are made. So that it would be a benefit to so society, if the clergy had a stated provision; but so moderate as to restrain the ambition of the body and the number of its members. Poverty makes them fanatical; opulence independent; and both concur to render them seditious.

Such

Such at leaſt was the opinion of a philoſopher, who ſaid to a great monarch; There is a powerful body in your dominions, which hath aſſumed a power of ſuſpending the labour of your ſubjects, whenever it pleaſes to call them into its temples. This body is authoriſed to ſpeak to them a hundred times a year, and to ſpeak in the name of God. It tells them that the moſt powerful ſovereign is no more in the ſight of the ſupreme being than the meaneſt ſlave; and that as it is inſpired by the creator of all things, it is to be believed in preference to the maſters of the world. The effects of ſuch a ſyſtem threaten the total ſubverſion of ſociety, unleſs the miniſters of religion are made dependent on the magiſtrate; and they will never be effectually ſo, unleſs they hold their ſubſiſtence from him. This is the only way to eſtabliſh a harmony between the oracles of heaven and the maxims of government. It is the buſineſs of a prudent adminiſtration to bring this about without diſturbances or commotions.

Till the court of Liſbon has attained this ſalutary end, all projects of reformation will be ineffectual. The defects of eccleſiaſtical government will ſtill ſubſiſt, notwithſtanding all endeavours to reform them. The clergy muſt be brought to depend upon the magiſtrate, before the Portugueſe who live in Brazil can dare to oppoſe their tyranny. Perhaps even the prejudices theſe inhabitants have imbibed from a faulty and monaſtic education, may be too deeply rooted in

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their minds, to be ever eradicated. These enlightened views seem to be reserved for the next generation. This revolution might be hastened by obliging the chief proprietors to send their children to Europe for education, and by reforming the plan of public education in Portugal.

All ideas are easily impressed upon tender organs. The soul, without experience as without reflection, readily admits truth and falshood in matters of opinion, and equally adopts what is either conducive or prejudicial to the public welfare. Young people may be taught to value or depreciate their own reason; to make use of it, or to neglect it; to consider it as their best guide, or to mistrust its powers. Fathers obstinately defend the absurdities they were taught in their infancy; their children will be as fond of the leading principles in which they have been trained. They will bring back into Brazil notions of religion, morality, administration, commerce, and agriculture. The mother country will confer places of trust on them alone. They will then exert the talents they have acquired, and the face of the colony will be totally changed. Writers who speak of it, will no longer lament the idleness, the ignorance, the blunders, the superstitions which have been the ground-work of its administration. The history of this colony will no longer be a satyre upon it.

The fear of incensing Great Britain must not protract these happy alterations one single moment. The motives which, perhaps, have prevented them hitherto

hitherto are but prejudices, which will be removed upon the ſlighteſt examination. There are numberleſs political errors, which, once adopted, become principles. Such is the prevailing notion at the court of Liſbon, that the ſtate cannot exiſt or proſper but by means of the Engliſh. It is forgotten that the Portugueſe monarchy was formed without the help of other nations; that during the whole time of their conteſts with the Moors, they were ſupported by no foreign power; that their greatneſs had been increaſing for three centuries ſucceſſively, when they extended their dominion over Africa and the Eaſt and Weſt Indies by their own ſtrength. All theſe great revolutions were performed by the Portuguſe alone. Was it neceſſary then that this nation ſhould diſcover a great treaſure, and be a proprietor of rich mines, merely to ſuggeſt the idea of its being unable to ſupport itſelf? Are the Portugueſe to be compared to thoſe fooliſh individuals, whoſe heads are turned by the embarraſſment, which their newly acquired riches occaſion?

No nation ought to ſubmit to be protected. If the people are wiſe, they will have forces relative to their ſituation; and will never have more enemies than they are able to withſtand. Unleſs their ambition is unbounded, they have allies, who, for their own ſakes, will warmly and faithfully ſupport their intereſt. This general truth is peculiarly applicable to thoſe ſtates that are poſſeſſed of mines. It is the intereſt of all other nations to be

BOOK IX. in amity with them, and if there is occaſion for it, they will all unite for their preſervation. Let Portugal but hold the balance even between all the powers of Europe, and they will form an impenetrable barrier around her. England herſelf, though deprived of the preference ſhe has too long enjoyed, will ſtill ſupport a nation whoſe independence is eſſential to the balance of power in Europe. All nations would quickly join in one common cauſe, if Spain ſhould ever be ſo mad for conqueſt, as to attempt any thing againſt Portugal. Never would the jealous, reſtleſs, and quick-ſighted policy of our age ſuffer all the treaſures of the new world to be in the ſame hands, or that one houſe ſhould be ſo powerful in America, as to threaten the liberties of Europe.

THIS ſecurity, however, ſhould not induce the court of Liſbon to neglect the means of their own preſervation, as they did when they truſted to the Britiſh arms for their defence, or indolently reſted on the ſupineneſs of their neighbours: when, deſtitute of land or ſea forces, they were accounted as nothing in the political ſyſtem, which is the greateſt diſgrace that can befall a nation. If the Portugueſe will regain the conſequence they have loſt, they muſt put themſelves in ſuch a ſtate, as not to be afraid of war, and even to declare it themſelves, if their rights or their ſafety ſhould require it. It is not always an advantage to a nation to continue in peace, when all the reſt are in arms. In the political as in the natural world, a great

great event will have very extenſive effects. The rise or fall of one empire will affect all the reſt. Even thoſe which are furtheſt removed from the ſeat of war, are oftentimes the victims of their moderation or weakneſs. Theſe maxims are directly applicable to Portugal, particularly at this juncture, when the example of her neighbours, the critical ſituation of her haughty allies, the ſolicitations of the powers who are jealous of her friendſhip; in ſhort, every thing calls upon her to rouze, and to exert herſelf. BOOK IX.

If the Portugueſe will not at length frequent the ſeas, where alone they can diſtinguiſh themſelves, and from whence they muſt derive their proſperity, if they do not appear with a powerful force at the extremity of Europe, where nature has ſo happily placed them, their fate is decided, the monarchy is at an end. They will fall again into the chains they had ſhaken off for a moment: as a lion that ſhould drop aſleep at the door of his den after he had broken it open. The little circulation there is ſtill within, would but indicate thoſe feeble ſigns of life, which are the ſymptoms of approaching death. The few trifling regulations they might make from time to time, reſpecting the finances, the police, commerce, and the navy, whether at home or for the colonies, would be but weak palliatives, which, by concealing their ſituation, would make it only the more dangerous.

BOOK IX. It cannot be denied that Portugal has suffered the most favourable opportunity that could have offered, of resuming her former splendour to escape. They are not politics alone that prepare revolutions. Some destructive phœnomenon may change the face of an empire. The earthquake of the first of November 1755, which overthrew the capital of Portugal, ought to have restored the kingdom. The destruction of a proud city is often the preservation of a whole state, as the opulence of one man may be the ruin of thousands. Stately edifices be subverted; effects, mostly belonging to foreigners, might be destroyed; idle, debauched and corrupt men might be buried under heaps of ruins, without affecting the public welfare. The earth, in a transient fit, had only taken what she was able to restore; and the gulphs she opened under one city, were ready digged for the foundations of another.

A NEW state, a new people might have been expected to rise out of those ruins. But as much as these violent and uncommon starts of nature animate great minds, so much they depress little souls, corrupted by a long habit of ignorance and superstition. Government, which every where takes advantage of the credulity of the people, and which nothing can divert from the settled purpose of extending the boundaries of authority, became more encroaching at the very instant that the nation grew more timorous. Men of bold spirits oppressed those that were weak; and the

period

period of that great phœnomenon proved that of an increaſe of ſlavery; a ſad but common effect of the cataſtrophes of nature. They uſually make men a prey to the artifices of thoſe who are ambitious of ruling over them. Then it is that they take large ſtrides, by repeated acts of arbitrary power; whether thoſe who govern, do really believe that the people were born to obey, or whether they think that, by extending their own power, they increaſe the ſtrength of the public. Thoſe falſe politicians are not aware that with ſuch principles, a ſtate is like an overſtrained ſpring, that will break at laſt, and recoil againſt the hand that bends it. The preſent ſituation of the continent of South America, but too plainly evinces the juſtneſs of this compariſon: let us now proceed to ſhew the effects of a different conduct in the American iſlands.



End of the Ninth Book.

BOOK

# BOOK X.

*Settlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America, known by the name of the Antilles or Caribbee iſlands.*

BOOK X.

THAT part of North America, which extends from the 293 to the 316 degree of longitude, contains the moſt numerous, extenſive and rich Archipelago the ocean has yet opened to the curioſity, the induſtry and avidity of the Europeans. The iſlands that compoſe it are known, ſince the diſcovery of the new world, by the name of the Caribbees. Thoſe that lie neareſt the Eaſt, have been called the Windward iſlands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the winds blowing generally from the eaſtern point in thoſe quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which ſeems to be attached to the continent near the gulph of Maracaybo, the other, to cloſe the entrance of the gulph of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with ſome degree of probability, be conſidered

ſidered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, which have been changed into iſlands by ſome revolution that has laid the flat country under water.

All the iſlands of the world ſeem to have been detached from the continent by ſubterraneous fires, or earthquakes.

Whether the American iſlands have been detached from the continent?

The celebrated Atlantica, whoſe very name would ſome thouſand years ago have been buried in oblivion, had it not been tranſmitted down to us by Plato, from the obſcure tradition of Egyptian prieſts was, probably, a large tract of land ſituated between Africa and America. Several circumſtances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily has evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd iſlands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries muſt have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been deſtroyed. The late obſervations of Engliſh navigators leave us ſcarce any room to doubt that all the iſlands of the South Sea, formerly compoſed one entire continent. New Zealand, the largeſt of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguiſhed volcanos. Its inhabitants are neither beardleſs nor copper-coloured as thoſe of America; and though they are ſeparated ſix hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they ſpeak the ſame language as the natives of the iſland of Otaheite, diſcovered by M. De Bougainville.

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BOOK X. INDISPUTABLE mouuments evince that ſuch changes have happened, of which the attentive naturaliſt every where diſcovers ſome traces ſtill remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oyſters, ſea-fiſh entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the moſt diſtant from the ſea, in the bowels and on the ſurfaces of mountains; the variableneſs of the continent ſubject to all the changes of the ocean by which it is conſtantly beaten, worn away or ſubverted: while at a diſtance, perhaps, on one ſide it loſes immenſe tracts of land; on the other, diſcovers to us new countries, and long banks of ſand heaped up before thoſe cities that formerly were celebrated ſea-ports: the horizontal and parallel poſition of the ſtrata of the earth and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the ſame order, compoſed of the ſame materials, that are regularly cemented by the conſtant and ſucceſſive exertion of the ſame cauſe: the correſpondent ſimilarity obſervable between ſuch coaſts as are ſeparated by an arm of the ſea; on one ſide of which may be perceived ſalient angles oppoſite to re-entering angles on the other: on the right-hand, beds of the ſame kind of ſand, or ſimilar petrifactions diſpoſed on a level with ſimilar ſtrata extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the ſea as to their common origin: the formation of hills and vallies, on which this immenſe body of fluid hath, as it were, ſtamped indelible marks of its undulations: all theſe ſe-

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veral circumſtances atteſt, that the ocean has broken its natural limits, or perhaps, that its limits have never been inſurmountable; and that varying the ſurface of the globe, according to the irregularity of its own motions, it hath alternately taken the earth from its inhabitants, and reſtored it to them again. Hence thoſe ſucceſſive though never univerſal deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it totally inviſible to us at once: for the waters acting at the ſame time in the cavities and on the ſurface of the globe, cannot poſſibly increaſe the depth of their beds without diminiſhing their breadth; or overflow, on one ſide, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole ſyſtem that can poſſibly have made all the mountains diſappear at once and occaſioned the ſea to riſe above their ſummits. What a ſudden transformation muſt have forced all the rocks and every ſolid particle of matter to the center of the earth, to draw out of its inmoſt receſſes and channels all thoſe fluids which animate it; and thus blending its ſeveral elements together, produce a maſs of waters and uſeleſs germina floating in the air? Is it not enough that each hemiſphere alternately becomes a prey to the devaſtations of the ocean? Such conſtant ſhocks as theſe have doubtleſs ſo long concealed from us the new world, and, perhaps, ſwallowed up that continent, which, as is imagined, had been only ſeparated from our own.

WHAT-

BOOK X.

WHATEVER may be the ſecret cauſes of theſe particular revolutions, the general cauſe of which reſults from the known and univerſal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always ſenſible to every man who has the reſolution and ſagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee iſlands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent ſhocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordeleras throw out their contents, or when all Peru is ſhaken. This archipelago, as well as that of the Eaſt-Indies, ſituated nearly in the ſame degree of latitude, ſeems to be produced by the ſame cauſe; namely, the motion of the ſea from eaſt to weſt: a motion impreſſed by that which cauſes the earth's revolution from weſt to eaſt; more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean ſeems, as it were willing to break through all the boundaries nature oppoſes to it, and opening to itſelf a free and uninterrupted courſe, forms the equinoctial line.

THE direction of the Caribbee iſlands, beginning from Tobago, is nearly north and N. N. W. This direction is continued from one iſland to another, forming a line ſomewhat curved towards the north-weſt, and ending at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and extending itſelf in a ſtraight direction to the W. and N. W. meets in its courſe with Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the Name of the Leeward Iſlands,

Iſlands, which are ſeparated from each other by channels of various breadths. Some of theſe are ſix, others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the ſoundings in all of them are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincent's there is alſo a ſmall Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which ſometimes the ſoundings are not ten fathom.

THE mountains in the Caribbee iſlands run in the ſame direction as the iſlands themſelves. This direction is ſo regular, that if we were to conſider the tops of theſe mountains only independent of their baſes, they might be looked upon as a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the moſt north-weſterly promontory.

THE ſprings of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward iſlands, run all in the weſtern part of theſe iſlands. The whole eaſtern coaſt, that is to ſay, which, according to our conjectures, has always been covered by the ſea, is without any running water. No ſprings come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been uſeleſs, for after having run over a very ſhort tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the ſea.

IN Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers, which diſcharge themſelves into the ſea on the northern ſide, and whoſe ſources riſe in the mountains running from eaſt to weſt, that

BOOK X. is, through the whole length of these islands. These rivers water a considerable extent of low country, which has certainly never been covered by the sea. From the other side of the mountains facing the south, where the sea, flowing with great impetuosity, leaves behind it marks of its inundations, several rivers flow into these three islands, some of which are considerable enough to receive the largest ships.

THESE observations, which seem to prove that the sea has separated the Caribbee islands from the continent, are further confirmed by others of a different kind, though equally conclusive in support of this conjecture. Tobago, Margaretta, and Trinidad, islands that are the nearest to the continent, produce as well as the Caribbees, trees whose wood is soft, and wild cocoa. This particular species are not to be found, at least in any quantity, in the northern islands. In these the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, situated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which, perhaps, it has been separated, with cedars and cypresses, both equally useful for the building of ships.

Nature of the soil of the Caribbee islands.

THE soil of the Caribbees consists mostly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickness; under which is a bed of stone or rock. The nature of some of these soils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In those places where the clay is dryer and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed

formed of greater depth, than where the clay is moiſter. The ſand or gravel has different properties according to its peculiar nature; wherever it is leſs hard, leſs compact, and leſs porous, ſmall pieces ſeparate themſelves from it; which though dry, preſerve a certain degree of coolneſs uſeful to vegetation. This ſoil is called in America, a pumice-ſtone ſoil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through ſuch modifications, the ſoil becomes barren, as ſoon as the layer formed by the decompoſition of the original plants is deſtroyed, from the neceſſity there is of weeding it, which too frequently expoſes its ſalts to the heat of the ſun. Hence, in thoſe cultures which require leſs weeding, and where the plant covers with its leaves the vegetable ſalts, there the fertility of the ground has been preſerved.



When the Europeans landed at the Caribbee iſlands they found them covered with large trees, connected as it were to one another by a ſpecies of creeping plant; which, riſing up in the ſame manner as the ivy, wove itſelf around all the branches, and concealed them from the ſight. There was ſo great a plenty of this plant, and it grew ſo thick, that it was impoſſible to penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From its great degree of flexibility it was called Liane.

In theſe foreſts, as old as the world itſelf, there were varieties of trees, that from a ſingular partiality of nature, were very lofty, exceeding ſtraight, and without any excreſcences or defects.

BOOK X. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, and the decay of the trunks rotted away by time, formed a moiſt ſediment upon the ground; which being cleared, occaſioned a ſurpriſing degree of vegetation in thoſe plants that were ſubſtituted to the trees that were rooted up.

In whatever ſoil theſe trees grew, their roots were ſcarcely two feet deep, and generally much leſs: though they extended themſelves on the ſurface, in proportion to the weight they had to ſupport. The exceſſive dryneſs of the ground, where the moſt plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are ſoon attracted by the ſun-beams; and the conſtant dews that moiſten the ſurface, made the roots of theſe plants extend themſelves horizontally, inſtead of deſcending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates.

The trees that grew on the tops of mountains and in ſteep places were very hard. Their bark was ſmooth, and firmly fixed to the wood. The courbari, the acajou, the machineel, the barati, iron-wood, and ſeveral others, hardly yielded to the ſharpeſt inſtrument: it was neceſſary to burn them, in order to fell and root them up. When they were on the ground, they were worked by the ſaw and the hatchet. The moſt remarkable of theſe trees was the acoma; which when put into the earth, becomes petrified. The gum tree was eſteemed the moſt uſeful, the trunk being five feet in circumference, and the ſtem from forty-

forty-five to fifty feet, ſerved to make a canoe of one ſingle piece. BOOK X.

THE vallies, which are always rendered fertile by the mountains, abounded with ſoft wood. At the foot of theſe trees grew promiſcuouſly thoſe plants that the liberality of the earth produced for the ſubſiſtence of the natives of the country. The couch couch, the yam, the Caribbee cabbage and potatoe were moſt generally uſed. Theſe were a ſpecies of potatoes produced at the root of ſuch plants as creep along the ground, breaking through all thoſe impediments which ſeemed to render their growth impoſſible. Nature, which appears to have eſtabliſhed a certain analogy between the characters of people and the proviſions intended for their ſupport, had provided the Caribbee iſlands with ſuch vegetables as could not bear the heat of the ſun, flouriſhed beſt in moiſt places, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The iſlanders did not twhart the free and ſpontaneous operations of nature, by deſtroying one of her productions to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating ſalts was entirely left to the mere effect of nature; nor did the natives pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered as chance threw in their way, or the ſeaſon pointed out, ſuch fruits as ſpontaneouſly offered themſelves for their ſupport. They had obſerved, that the putrafaction of the weeds was neceſſary to the

BOOK X. reproduction of those plants that were most useful to them.

The roots of these plants were never unwholesome; but they were insipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unless they were seasoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant somewhat resembling our sorrel, they produced a strong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the savages. The only art they made use of in preparing it, was suffering it to ferment some days in common water, exposed to the heat of the sun.

Exclusive of the roots, the islands also supplied the inhabitants with a great variety of different fruits. Some of these were nearly of the same kind as our apples, cherries, and apricots; but we have nothing in our climates that can give us any idea of most of the fruits of the Caribbee islands. Among these the most useful was the banana. In shape, size and colour it resembled our cucumbers: its taste was somewhat similar to our pears: it grew in cool places, on a soft and spungy stem about seven feet high. This stem decayed as the fruit ripened; but before it fell, it shot forth a young sprig from its trunk, which a year after produced its fruit, perished in its turn, and was regenerated successively in the same manner.

One singular circumstance worthy of remark is, that while the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it avoided the fertile ones, though promiscuously blended

blended with the former. Nature ſeemed as it were, to have preſcribed to it, to reſpect what ſhe had deſtined the ſuſtenance of man. BOOK X.

THE iſlanders were not ſo plentifully ſupplied with pot-herbs as with roots and fruits. Purſlain and creſſes were the only herbs of this kind they had.

THEIR other food was confined within a very narrow compaſs: they had no tame fowl, and the only quadrupeds that were fit for food, did not amount to more than five ſorts; the largeſt of which did not exceed in ſize our common rabbits. The birds more pleaſing to the eye, though leſs varied than in our climates, were valuable almoſt only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth thoſe melting notes that are ſo captivating to the ear; moſt of them were extremely thin, and very inſipid to the taſte. Fiſh was nearly as plentiful as in other ſeas, but generally leſs wholeſome, and leſs delicate.

THE plants that nature had placed in theſe iſlands, to cure the very few diſorders the inhabitants were ſubject to, cannot be too highly commended. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infuſion, their effects were as ſpeedy as ſalutary. The invaders of thoſe formerly peaceable regions, have employed theſe ſimples, which are always green and in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Aſia can furniſh to the reſt of the world.

BOOK X.

Climate of theſe iſlands.

THE generality of the inhabitants of theſe iſlands conſider but two ſeaſons among them, that of drought and that of rain. Nature, whoſe operations are conſtant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But thoſe who attentively obſerve her progreſs, diſcern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions, and the changes of vegetation, ſhe obſerves the ſame laws as in Europe, though in a leſs ſenſible manner.

THESE almoſt imperceptible changes, are no preſervative againſt the dangers and inconveniences of ſuch a ſcorching climate as muſt be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As theſe iſlands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are expoſed, allowing for the varieties reſulting from difference of ſituation and of ſoil, to a perpetual heat, which generally increaſes from the riſing of the ſun till an hour after noon, and then decreaſes in proportion as the ſun declines. The thermometer in theſe places ſhews, that the degree of heat riſes ſometimes to forty-four, and even to forty-ſeven and a half above the freezing point. A covered ſky, that might ſerve to alleviate this heat, is ſeldom ſeen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two, but the ſun is never hid for four days during the whole year.

THE variations in the temperature of the air, depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of the ſeaſons. In thoſe places where the wind does not blow, the air is exceſſively hot, and none but

but the eaſterly winds contribute to temperate and refreſh it, thoſe that blow from the ſouth and weſt afford little relief; but they are much leſs frequent, and leſs regular than that which comes from the eaſt. The branches of the trees expoſed to its influence, are forced round towards the weſt, in that direction which they ſeem to be thrown into, by the conſtant and uniform courſe of the wind. But their roots are ſtronger and more extended under ground towards the eaſt, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, whoſe reſiſtance may counteract the power of the ruling wind. It has been alſo obſerved, that whenever the weſterly wind blows pretty ſtrong, the trees are eaſily thrown down; in order therefore to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be conſidered.

THE eaſterly wind depends upon two invariable cauſes, the probability of which is very ſtriking. The firſt ariſes from the diurnal motion of the earth from weſt to eaſt, and which muſt neceſſarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, becauſe a greater ſpace muſt be paſſed over in the ſame time. The ſecond is owing to the heat of the ſun, which as ſoon as it riſes above the horizon, rarifies the air, and cauſes it to blow towards the weſt, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the eaſt.

THE eaſterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbee iſlands is ſcarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock

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o'clock in the morning, increaſes in proportion as the ſun riſes above the horizon; and decreaſes as it declines. Towards the evening it ceaſes entirely to blow on the coaſts, but not on the open ſea. The reaſons of this difference are very evident. After the ſetting of the ſun, the air from the land, that continues for a conſiderable time rarified, on account of the vapours which are conſtantly riſing from the heated globe, neceſſarily flows back upon the air of the ſea: this is what is generally called a land breeze. It is moſt ſenſibly felt in the night, and continues till the air of the ſea, rarefied by the heat of the ſun, flows back again towards the land, where the air has been condenſed by the coolneſs of the night. It has alſo been obſerved, that the eaſterly wind blows more regularly and with greater force in the dog-days than at any other times of the year; becauſe the ſun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature cauſes the exceſſive heat of the ſun to contribute to the refreſhment of thoſe climates that are parched up by its rays. It is thus that in fire-engines art makes the fire inſtrumental in ſupplying conſtantly with freſh water the copper veſſels from which it is exhauſted by evaporation.

THE rain contributes alſo to the temperature of the American iſlands, though not equally in them all. In thoſe places where the eaſterly wind meets with nothing to oppoſe its progreſs, it diſpels the clouds as they begin to riſe, and cauſes them to break either in the woods or upon the moun-

mountains. But whenever the ſtorms are too violent, or the blowing of the eaſterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the ſouthern and weſterly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee iſlands, where this wind does not generally blow, the rains are ſo frequent and plentiful, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, which laſts from the middle of July to the middle of October; that, according to the moſt accurate obſervations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the ſpace of a year. Inſtead of thoſe mild and refreſhing ſhowers which we ſometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in theſe climates are torrents, the ſound of which might be miſtaken for that of hail, if this were not almoſt unknown under ſo burning a ſky.

These ſhowers, it muſt be allowed, refreſh the air; but they occaſion a dampneſs, the effects of which are no leſs diſagreeable than fatal. The dead muſt be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep ſweet above four and twenty hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread muſt be made up into biſcuits, to prevent its growing mouldy. Common wines ſoon turn ſour: and iron grows ruſty in a day's time. The ſeeds can only be preſerved by conſtant attention and care, till the proper ſeaſon returns for ſowing them. When the Caribbee iſlands were firſt diſcovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the ſup-

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support of those who could not accustom themselves to the food of the natives of the country, was so soon damaged, that it became necessary to send it in the ears. This necessary precaution enhanced the price of it so much that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then substituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of transport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was sooner damaged. It was imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely separated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would have this double advantage, of cheapness and of keeping longer. He caused it therefore to be sifted, and put the finest flour into strong casks, and beat it close together with iron hammers, till it became so hard a body, that the air could scarcely penetrate it. Experience justified so sensible a contrivance, the practice of it has become general, and been considerably improved ever since. If this method does not preserve the flour, as long as in our dry and temperate climates, it may, however, be kept by it, for the space of six months, a year, or even longer, according to the degree of care that has been taken in the preparation. Such an interval is sufficient for the activity and industry of the mother country to supply its colonies.

Ordinary phœnomena in the islands.

However troublesome these natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended with some still more formidable: such as frequent and sometimes dreadful earthquakes in the islands. As they ge-

generally happen during the time, or towards the end of the rainy ſeaſon, and when the tides are higheſt, ſome ingenious naturaliſts have, therefore, ſuppoſed that they might be owing to theſe two cauſes.

The waters of the ſky and of the ſea, undermine, dig up, and ravage the earth in ſeveral ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts its fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be foreſeen nor prevented. Among the various ſhocks to which it is conſtantly expoſed, from this reſtleſs and boiſterous element, there is one, which at the Caribbee iſlands is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *raz de marée*, or whirlpool. It conſtantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the weſtern coaſts; becauſe it takes place after the time of the weſterly and ſoutherly winds, or while they blow. The waves which at a diſtance ſeem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, ſuddenly ſwell againſt the ſhore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by ſome ſuperior force, and break with the greateſt impetuoſity. The ſhips, which are then upon the coaſt, or in the roads beyond it, unable either to put to ſea, or keep their anchors, are daſhed to pieces againſt the land, leaving the unhappy ſailors entirely without hopes of eſcaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for ſeveral hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the ſea has been hitherto conſidered as the conſequence of a

ſtorm,

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ſtorm. But a ſtorm follows the direction of the wind from one point of the compaſs to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an iſland that is ſheltered by another iſland, where the ſhock is not at all perceived. This obſervation has induced Mr. Dutaſta, who has travelled through Africa, and America, as a natural philoſopher, a merchant, and a ſtateſman, to ſeek for a more probable cauſe of this ſingular phœnomenon. He has not only diſcovered this, but alſo ſeveral other truths that may be uſeful to many of the ſciences, if he ever makes them public. We ſhall then probably acquire more certain information concerning hurricanes.

THE hurricane is a violent wind generally accompanied with rain, lightening and thunder, ſometimes with earthquakes; and always attended with the moſt melancholy and fatal conſequences that the wind can produce. The day, which, in the torrid zone, is uſually bright and clear, is ſuddenly changed into a dark and univerſal night; the appearance of a perpetual ſpring into the drearineſs and horror of the moſt gloomy winter. Trees as ancient as the world itſelf are torn up by the roots, and inſtantly diſappear. The ſtrongeſt and the moſt ſolid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itſelf with the proſpect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be ſeen but plantations entirely deſtroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy ſufferers, deprived of their whole ſupport, weep over the car-

caſes

caſes of the dead, or ſearch among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noiſe of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder and of the winds, that break againſt the ſhattered rocks; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiſcuouſly involved in a whirlwind of ſand, ſtones, and ruins of buildings: all together ſeem to portend the laſt ſtruggles of expiring nature.

THESE hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether theſe violent concuſſions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain ſubſtances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not eaſily determined: but it has been obſerved, that this ſeeming and temporary confuſion was not only a conſequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even diſſolution itſelf inſtrumental to regeneration, but alſo the means of preſerving the general ſyſtem, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, the ſource of partial evil and of general good.

THE firſt inhabitants of the Caribbee iſlands imagined that they had diſcovered infallible prognoſtics of this alarming phœnomenon. They obſerved, that when it was near at hand, the air was miſty, the ſun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth and in the reſervoirs of water, a dull ſound was heard, like that ariſing from pent up winds. The

ſtars

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ſtars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The ſky, in the north-weſt, was overſpread with dark and black clouds, that ſeemed very alarming. The ſea ſent forth a ſtrong and diſagreeable ſmell, and in the midſt of a calm, was ſuddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from eaſt to weſt, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

THOUGH the truth of all theſe obſervations cannot be aſcertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas and even prejudices of ſavage nations on times and ſeaſons would be a ſeeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philoſophical inquiries. The want of employment of theſe people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity and put them under a neceſſity of obſerving the ſmalleſt alterations in the air, and of acquiring ſuch informations on this point, as have eſcaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed and more devoted to works of a ſedentary nature. Poſſibly we muſt be indebted to ſavages for the diſcovery of effects, and to learned people for the inveſtigation of cauſes. Let us trace, if poſſible, the cauſe of hurricanes, a phœnomenon ſo frequent in America, that this alone would have been ſufficient to make it be deſerted, or render it uninhabitable many years ago.

No hurricanes come from the eaſt, that is, from the greateſt extent of the ſea at the Caribbee iſlands.

islands. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The West wind which blows constantly, and sometimes very violently in the southern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the same time in the northern parts, must, when they meet, oppose each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this shock happens in the long and narrow passes of the mountains, it must occasion a strong current of air, that will extend itself in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow pass of the mountain. Every solid body that meets this current of air, will be impressed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of surface it opposes to the current; so that if the position of that surface should be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impossible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole mass. Fortunately the different bearings of the coast of these islands, and their angular or spherical figure, occasion these dreadful hurricanes to fall upon surfaces more or less oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually destroy its effects. Experience also proves, that their action is by degrees so much weakened, that even in the direction, where the hurricane falls with most force, it is scarcely felt at ten leagues distance. The most accurate observers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have suc-

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ceſſively ſubverted the iſlands, came from the north-weſt, and conſequently from the narrow paſſes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The diſtance of ſome iſlands from this direction, is not a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting this opinion; as ſeveral other cauſes may contribute to divert a current of air to the ſouth or eaſt. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that thoſe perſons have been miſtaken, who have aſſerted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compaſs the wind came from. Such are the deſtructive phœnomena nature has oppoſed to the acquiſition of the riches of the new world: but what barrier could reſtrain the daring ſpirit of that navigator who diſcovered it?

Cuſtoms of the Caribs, the ancient inhabitants of the windward iſlands.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS having firſt formed a ſettlement at St. Domingo, one of the greater Antilles, diſcovered the leſs. The iſlanders he had to encounter there, were not ſo weak and cowardly as thoſe he had at firſt ſubdued. The Caribs, who thought they originally came from Guiana, and that they were of the ſame nation as the Galibees, were of moderate ſtature, thick ſet and ſtrong, and ſuch as ſeemed adapted to form men of ſuperior ſtrength, if their manner of life and exerciſes had aſſiſted theſe natural appearances. Their legs thick and muſcular, were generally well made; their eyes black, large, and ſomewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleaſing, had they not ſpoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable among

among themſelves. The eye-brows and the head are the only parts of the body on which they ſuffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chaſtity. In order to guard againſt the bite of inſects, they painted all their bodies over with the juice of the rocou, or arnotto, which gave them the appearance of a lobſter when boiled. BOOK X.

THEIR religion conſiſted only in ſome confuſed belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion ſo natural to man, that we find it diffuſed among the moſt ſavage nations, and preſerved even among many civilized ones. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greateſt dread of the evil principle. Their other ſuperſtitions were more abſurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not continue to render them more ready to embrace chriſtianity when propoſed to them. Without entering into diſpute with thoſe who expounded the doctrines, they contented themſelves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear*, as they ſaid, *that their neighbours ſhould laugh at them.*

THOUGH the Caribs had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed, was entirely owing to that innate principle of compaſſion which precedes all reflection, and is the ſource of all ſocial virtues. This humane ſpirit of benevolence ariſes from the very frame and nature of man, whoſe ſelf-love alone is

BOOK X. sufficient to make him abhor the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. To infuse, therefore, a spirit of humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be necessary to make them the executioners of those victims they sacrifice to their pride, and of those cruelties they order to be practised upon others. The hands of those voluptuaries should be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their seraglios; they should be forced to attend the field of battle; they should there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witnesses of the agonies and convulsions of their dying soldiers; they should next attend the hospitals, and at leisure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diseases occasioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholesome, by cruel services and taxes, and the other calamities which arise from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would scenes like these, occasionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to lessen the crimes and sufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive, from the compassionate emotions of their sovereigns?

AMONG the Caribs, whose hearts were not depraved by the pernicious institutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treason, nor massacres, so common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal punishments, whose barriers raised to protect old customs from the encroachments of new ones, were useless to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard among these

theſe ſavages, before the Europeans came among them. When they diſcovered any thing miſſing, they obſerved, *that the chriſtians had been with them.*

THESE iſlanders were little acquainted with the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the ſoul, not even with that of love. This paſſion was with them merely a ſenſual appetite. They never ſhewed the leaſt marks of attention or tenderneſs for that ſex, ſo much courted in other countries. They conſidered their wives rather in the light of ſlaves than of companions; they did not even ſuffer them to eat with them, and had uſurped the right of divorcing them, without permitting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themſelves born to obey, and ſubmitted patiently to their fate.

IN other reſpects, a taſte for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribs; as they had no diſtinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely ſurpriſed to find degrees of ſubordination among the Europeans. This ſyſtem was ſo repugnant to their ideas, that they conſidered thoſe as ſlaves, who had the weakneſs to receive the commands of a ſuperior, and obey them. The ſubjection of the women among them, was a natural conſequence of the weakneſs of the ſex. But in what manner, and for what reaſon, the ſtronger men ſubmitted themſelves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that nei-

BOOK X. ther war, treachery, nor ſuperſtition, had been able to reſolve.

THE manners of a people, neither influenced by intereſt, vanity, or ambition, muſt be very ſimple. Every family formed within itſelf a republic, diſtinct in ſome degree from the reſt of the nation. They compoſed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or leſs conſequence in proportion to the ſpace of ground it occupied. The chief, or patriarch of the family, lived in the center, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of ſuch of his deſcendents as were married. The columns that ſupported theſe huts, were ſtakes; the roofs thatched; and the whole furniture conſiſted of ſome arms, cotton beds made very plain and ſimple, ſome baſkets, and utenſils made of calabaſhes.

IN theſe huts the Caribs ſpent the greateſt part of their life, either in ſleeping or ſmoaking. When they went out, they retired into ſome corner, and ſat upon the ground, ſeemingly abſorbed in the moſt profound contemplation. Whenever they ſpoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption, or contradiction, and without any anſwer, but the ſign of a tacit approbation.

As they ate little, they were not much troubled in providing for their ſuſtenance. Men who live in woods, conſume leſs than thoſe who dwell in open countries. The air is more condenſed, and it is probable that the exhalations of vegeteables produce

produce ſome nutritive particles. The temperance, therefore, of the Caribs, which at firſt was conſidered as a conſequence of their indolence, might poſſibly be aſcribed, in ſome degree, to that air impregnated with the juices of vegetables which they breathe among the woods, with which their iſlands were covered.

In the midſt of theſe woods, this indolent people, without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, found conſtantly a wholeſome food, fitted to their conſtitution; and which required no care, or at leaſt very little, to prepare it. If they ſometimes added to theſe gifts of liberal and uncultivated nature, what they had taken in hunting and fiſhing, it was ſeldom but upon occaſion of ſome public feaſt.

These extraordinary feſtivals were held at no ſtated times. The gueſts themſelves ſhewed no alteration in their uſual characters. In theſe meetings they were not more gay or ſprightly, than at other times. A ſpirit of indolence and liſtleſsneſs appeared in their countenances. Their dances were ſo grave and ſolemn, that the motions of their bodies were expreſſive of the dullneſs of their minds. But theſe gloomy feſtivals, like thoſe clouded ſkies that are the fore-runners of a tempeſt, were ſeldom concluded without bloodſhed. Theſe ſavages, who were ſo temperate when alone, grew drunk when aſſembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived thoſe family diſſentions that were either only ſtifled, or not

BOOK X. entirely extinguiſhed: and thus theſe feſtivals terminated in maſſacres. Hatred and revenge, the only paſſions that could deeply agitate the minds of theſe ſavages were thus perpetuated by convivial pleaſures. In the height of theſe entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and ſwore that they would wage war upon the continent.

THE Caribs uſed to embark upon boats, made of a ſingle tree, that had been felled by burning its roots. Whole years had been employed in hollowing theſe canoes, by hatchets made of ſtone, or by means of fire ſkillfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the moſt proper form. Theſe free and voluntary warriours being arrived on the coaſts of Guiana, went in queſt of the Araucos, who formerly drove them out from thence. At their return from this military expedition, which was the more ſpeedily brought to a concluſion, as mutual enmity rendered it more cruel and ſpirited, the ſavages fell again into their former ſtate of indolence and inactivity.

THE Spaniards, notwithſtanding the advantage of fire arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always ſucceſsful. At firſt they fought only for gold, and afterwards for ſlaves; but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being ſo proud and ſullen, that they died when made ſlaves: the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conquеſts, that they thought

of

of little conſequence, and that they could neither acquire nor preſerve without conſtant and bloody wars.

The Engliſh and French being apprized of theſe tranſactions, ventured to equip a ſmall fleet, in order to intercept the Spaniſh veſſels which frequented theſe latitudes. The advantages gained, increaſed the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent theſe expeditions. The cuſtom that prevailed among the Spaniards, of ſtopping all ſhips that ſailed beyond the tropic, juſtified ſuch piracies.

The Engliſh and French ſettle on the windward iſlands, and deſtroy the Caribs.

The two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward iſlands, without ever thinking of making any ſettlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehenſive of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received: or, perhaps, they conſidered, that a ſoil which afforded none of thoſe productions that were of uſe in the old world, was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, ſome Engliſh and French, the former headed by Warner, and the latter by Deſnambuc, landed at St. Chriſtopher's on the ſame day, at two oppoſite parts of the iſland. The frequent loſſes they ſuſtained, ſerved to convince them both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the common enemy, unleſs they had ſome fixed reſidence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conqueſt, they

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they amicably divided the coasts of the island, where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the spot they were fixed upon, telling them at the same time, that *land must either be very bad or very scarce with them, since they were come from so great a distance, and had exposed themselves to so many dangers to seek for it among them.*

THE court of Madrid were not so peaceably inclined. Frederic of Toledo, who was sent to Brazil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack the Dutch, was ordered in his passage to destroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and industrious nations, occasioned the greatest anxiety to the Spaniards. They were sensible that their colonies would be exposed to attacks, if any other people should come to settle in that part of America.

THE French and English in vain united their weak powers against the common enemy: they were beaten, and those who were not either killed in the action, or not taken prisoners, fled for shelter with the utmost precipitation into the neighbouring islands. When the danger was over, they most of them returned to their former settlements. Spain, whose attention was engrossed by objects she considered as of greater importance, disturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealousies would occasion their destruction.

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UNFORTUNATELY for the Caribs, the two nations, thus conquered, ſuſpended their rivalſhip. The Caribs, already ſuſpected of forming a conſpiracy in St. Chriſtopher's, were either baniſhed or deſtroyed. Their wives, their proviſions, and even the lands they occupied, were ſeized upon. A ſpirit of reſtleſsneſs, the conſequence of uſurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe, that the other ſavage nations had entered into the conſpiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their iſlands. In vain did thoſe plain and inoffenſive men, who had no inclination to contend for the poſſeſſion of a land which they conſidered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations in proportion as the Europeans advanced with their encroachments; they were ſtill purſued with the ſame eagerneſs and obſtinacy. As ſoon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the ſpirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, muſt have ſometimes contributed to render them cruel though not unjuſt.

IN earlier times, the Engliſh and the French conſidered the Caribs as their common enemy; but this kind of caſual aſſociation was frequently interrupted. It implied not a laſting engagement, much leſs the becoming guarantee for their mutual poſſeſſion. The ſavages artfully contrived to be at peace, ſometimes with one nation, and ſometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time.

The

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This management would have been but of little ſervice to theſe iſlanders, had not Europe, ſcarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whoſe excurſions had as yet been of no uſe to her, and not ſufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them in a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference ſhewn by the two mother countries, determined their ſubjects of the new world, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, ſecuring to each people thoſe poſſeſſions the various events of war had procured them, and which till then had been totally unſettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offenſive and defenſive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan, to which their fears induced them to accede the very ſame year.

By this treaty, which eſtabliſhed tranquillity in this part of America, France obtained Guadalupe, Martinico, Granada, and ſome leſs conſiderable acquiſitions. England was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and ſeveral other iſlands of little value: St. Chriſtopher's belonged to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's; where all the ſcattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6000 men.

At

The French settle at St. Domingo.

At this period the Engliſh ſettlements had acquired, under a government, which, though not free from defects, was yet tolerable, ſome kind of form, and were in a flouriſhing ſtate. On the contrary, the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to deſpair, from the neceſſity they were under of ſubmitting to the tyranny of excluſive privileges. Theſe men, paſſionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coaſt of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for ſeveral adventurers of their own country, ſince they had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's, about thirty years before.

They were called Buccaneers, becauſe they imitated the cuſtom of the ſavages, in drying the food they lived upon by ſmoke, in places called Buccans. As they had no wives, nor children, they uſually aſſociated two in a company, to aſſiſt one another in family duties. In theſe ſocieties property was common, and the laſt ſurvivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken againſt it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from ſome of the neighbours, without any other reſtriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home, if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Differences ſeldom aroſe, and when they did, were eaſily adjuſted. If the parties, however, were obſtinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the ſides, it was con-

BOOK X. considered as a mark of treachery, and the aſſaſſin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were diſregarded, and by the uſual ſea baptiſm they had received in paſſing the tropic, they conſidered themſelves exempted from all obligation to obey them. They had even quitted their family name to aſſume others, borrowed from terms of war, moſt of which have been tranſmitted to their poſterity.

THE dreſs of theſe barbarians conſiſted of a ſhirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the ſhirt, and made in the ſhape of a brewer's apron, a girdle made of leather, on which a very ſhort ſabre was hung, and ſome knives; a hat, without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and ſhoes without ſtockings. Their ambition was ſatisfied, if they could but provide themſelves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five and twenty or thirty dogs.

THE whole employment of the Buccaneers conſiſted in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the iſland, ſince the Spaniards had brought them. As ſoon as they were killed they were immediately flayed, and the purſuit was never ended, till as many bulls were deſtroyed as there were huntſmen in company. Some pieces of the fleſh were then prepared and ſeaſoned only with pimento and juice of orange. They ate no bread, and drank only water. Their daily

daily employment was conſtantly the ſame, and was continued till they had provided themſelves with a ſufficient number of ſkins to ſupply the veſſels of the ſeveral nations that traded in thoſe ſeas. Theſe were then ſent to ſale in ſome frequented road; and carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondſmen; a ſet of perſons who were uſed to ſell themſelves in Europe to ſerve as ſlaves in the colonies, during the term of three years. One of theſe miſerable men, preſuming to repreſent to his maſter, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden ſuch a practice, when he had declared, *ſix days ſhalt thou labour, and on the ſeventh day ſhalt thou reſt:* And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, ſay to thee: *ſix days thou ſhalt kill bulls and ſtrip them of their ſkins, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt carry their hides to the ſea ſhore.* This command was followed by blows, which ſometimes enforce obedience, ſometimes diſobedience to the laws of God.

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Men of ſuch a caſt, habituated to conſtant exerciſes, and feeding every day on freſh meat, were little expoſed to diſeaſes. Their excurſions were only ſuſpended by a ſlight fever, which laſted one day, and was not felt the next. They muſt, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intenſe a heat, to enable them to ſupport ſo hard and laborious a manner of life.

The climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reaſon to fear. The Spaniſh colo-

ny,

BOOK X. ny, at first so considerable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother country, it had even lost the remembrance of its former greatness. The few inhabitants that survived, lived in a state of indolence: their slaves had no other employment but to swing them in their hammocks. Confined to those wants only that are satisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

It is probable they would not have been rouzed from their indolence, had not the enterprising and active spirit of their enemies pursued them in proportion as they retreated. Exasperated at length, from having their tranquillity and ease continually disturbed, they invited from the continent and from the neighbouring islands some troops who fell upon the dispersed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked these barbarians in small parties in their excursions, or in the night-time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were massacred. These adventurers would most probably have been all destroyed, had they not formed themselves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an absolute necessity of separating in the day time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was missing, it was supposed that he was either taken prisoner or killed, and the chace was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may easily conceive how much blood must have been

shed

ſhed by ſuch ruffians, belonging to no country, and ſubject to no laws; hunters and warriours from the calls of nature and inſtinct; and excited to murder and maſſacres from being habituated to attack, and from the neceſſity of defending themſelves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to deſtruction, without any diſtinction of ſex or age. The Spaniards, at length deſpairing of being able to get the better of ſuch ſavage and obſtinate enemies, took the reſolution of deſtroying all the bulls of the iſlands, by a general chace. The execution of this deſign having deprived the Buccaneers of their uſual reſources, put them under the neceſſity of making ſettlements and cultivating the lands.

France, who till that time, had diſclaimed for her ſubjects theſe ruffians, whoſe ſucceſſes were only temporary, acknowledged them, however, as ſoon as they formed themſelves into ſettlements. In 1665, ſhe ſent them over a man of probity and underſtanding to govern them. Several women attended him, who, like moſt of thoſe, who have at different periods been ſent into the new world, were noted for their vices and licentiouſneſs. The Buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners. *I do not deſire you to give me an account of your paſt conduct*, was the ſpeech each of them made to the woman that chance had allotted him. *You did not then belong to me. Give me your word, for the future, as you are now mine; I acquit you of what is paſt.* Then ſtriking his hand on the

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the barrel of this gun, he added; *This will revenge me of your breach of faith; if you are false, this will certainly be true to my aim.*

The Engliſh conquer Jamaica.

THE Engliſh had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm ſettlement in the great Antilles to procure themſelves an eſtabliſhment there. The declining ſtate of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by its internal diviſions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotions of Naples, by the deſtruction of its formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by its continual loſſes in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of its miniſters, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itſelf on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtineſs: all theſe circumſtances, tending to the ruin of the Spaniſh monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be ſucceſsfully waged againſt her. France ſkilfully took the advantage of theſe confuſions ſhe had partly occaſioned; and Cromwell, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to ſhare in the ſpoils of a kingdom haſtening to deſtruction in every part.

THIS conduct of the protector cauſed a revolt among the beſt Engliſh officers, who, conſidering it as an inſtance of great injuſtice, determined to quit the ſervice. They thought that the will of their ſuperiors could not give ſanction to an enterpriſe, which violated all the principles of equity, and that by concurring to put it into execution, they would be guilty of the greateſt crime.

The

The reſt of the Europeans looked upon theſe prin- BOOK
ciples of virtue and honour as the effect of that re- X.
publican and fanatical ſpirit, which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the protector with other motives.

SPAIN had long threatened to enſlave all other nations. Perhaps, the multitude, who are little able to eſtimate the ſtrength of nations, and to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An univerſal panic had ſeized on the minds of thoſe able men who attentively ſtudied the general progreſs of affairs. They were ſenſible that if the rapid and extraordinary ſucceſſes of France were not checked by ſome foreign power, ſhe would deprive the Spaniards of their poſſeſſions, impoſe on them what laws ſhe pleaſed, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis the 14th, ſecure to herſelf the inheritance of Charles the 5th, and oppreſs the liberty of Europe that ſhe had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately ſubverted the government of his country, ſeemed a fit perſon to give a check to the power of kings: but he was looked upon as the weakeſt of politicians, when he was obſerved to form connections, which his own private intereſts, thoſe of his country, as well as thoſe of Europe in general, ought abſolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

THESE obſervations could not poſſibly eſcape the deep and penetrating genius of the uſurper.

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But, perhaps, he was desirous of preserving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by some important conquest. If he had declared himself on the side of Spain, the execution of this project must have been chimerical; as the utmost he could possibly expect was to restore the balance of power between the two contending parties. He imagined it more favourable to his designs to begin to form a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himself master of those possessions that were the object of his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in these conjectures, which, however, may be supported from the evidence of history, and are, at least, consistent with the character of the extraordinary politician, who is supposed to have adopted this method of reasoning, the English went into the new world to attack an enemy they had just brought upon themselves.

THEIR first attempts were directed against the town of St. Domingo, whose inhabitants retired into the woods as soon as they saw a large fleet commanded by Penn, and nine thousand land forces headed by Venables, appear before the city. But the errors committed by their enemies, inspiring these fugitives with fresh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to reimbark with disgrace. This misfortune was the consequence of the ill-concerted plan of this expedition.

THE

THE two commanders of this enterprise, were men of very moderate abilities. They were at variance with each other, and ill-affected to the protector. Inspectors had been appointed to watch over them, who, under the name of commissaries, checked their operations. The soldiers who were sent from Europe were the refuse of the army; and those that were taken from Barbadoes and St. Christopher's, were common robbers. They were forbidden to plunder, which was the only proper encouragement for men of this cast, and which the experience of all ages has found to be the most effectual motive to insure success in distant and dangerous enterprises. Every thing was settled in such a manner, that the soldiers could not be upon good terms with their officers, nor the officers with one another, nor the commissaries with either. Proper arms, provisions fit for the climate, and the information necessary to conduct the enterprise, were all wanting.

THE execution of the attack was answerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been effected without danger even in the port itself, was conducted without a guide at forty miles distance. The troops wandered about for four days, without water or provisions. Exhausted by the excessive heat of the climate, and discouraged by the cowardice and misunderstanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They scarce thought them-

BOOK X. ſelves in ſafety when they had got back to their ſhips.

But ill ſucceſs contributed to reconcile the contending parties, that were highly exaſperated with each other. The Engliſh, who had not yet contracted the habit of bearing diſgrace, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and reſtored to the love of their country, to a ſenſe of their duty, and a thirſt for glory, ſailed for Jamaica, under a fixed reſolution, either to periſh there, or to make the conqueſt of it.

The inhabitants of this iſland, ſubject to Spain ſince the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at St. Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy ſailing in their latitudes. The Engliſh therefore landed without oppoſition. They were boldly marching to lay ſiege to St. Jago, the only fortified place in the colony, when the governor gave a check to their ardour, by offering them terms of capitulation. The diſcuſſion of the articles, artfully prolonged, gave the coloniſts time to remove their moſt valuable effects into ſecret places. They themſelves fled for ſhelter to inacceſſible mountains, leaving only to the conquerors, a city without inhabitants, moveables, treaſures, or proviſions.

This artifice exaſperated the beſiegers to the higheſt degree. They ſent out detachments on every ſide, with expreſs orders to deſtroy every thing they met with. The diſappointment they felt on finding theſe parties return without having diſ-

discovered any thing; the want of every convenience more sensibly felt by this nation than any other; the mortality which increased among them every day; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the new world: all these circumstances conspired to make them clamorous for returning to England. The cowardly desertion of so rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almost resolved upon, would have soon exposed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not discovered some pasture land, where the Spaniards had conveyed their numerous flocks. So unexpected an instance of good fortune, occasioned a change in the sentiments of the English, and made them resolve to complete their conquest.

The spirit of activity, which this last resolution had excited, convinced the besieged, that they could not remain with safety in the forests and precipices, where they had concealed themselves. They unanimously, therefore, agreed to set sail for Cuba. Here they were received with such marks of disgrace as the weakness of their defence deserved, and they were sent back again; but with such succours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in most men arises rather from a fear of shame than a love of glory, they made a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected from the few resources they had. They did not evacuate this considerable island, till they were re-

BOOK X.

duced to the greateſt extremities; and from that period it has been one of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions of Great Britain in the new world.

The Buccaneers ravage the American ſeas. Origin, manners, expeditions and decline of theſe pirates.

BEFORE the Engliſh had made any ſettlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, ſome pirates of both nations, who have ſince been ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the name of Buccaneers, had driven the Spaniards out of the ſmall iſland of Tortuga; and fortifying themſelves there, had with an amazing intrepidity, made excurſions againſt the common enemy. They formed themſelves into ſmall companies, conſiſting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or ſmaller ſize, was their only armament. Here they were expoſed night and day to all the inclemencies of the weather, without having ſcarce room enough to lay down. A love of independence, the greateſt bleſſing to thoſe who are not proprietors of land, rendered them averſe from thoſe mutual reſtraints which the members of ſociety impoſe upon themſelves for the common good; ſome of them choſe to ſing, while others were deſirous of going to ſleep. As the authority they had conferred on their captain, was confined to his giving orders in battle, they lived in the greateſt confuſion. Like the ſavages, having no apprehenſion of want, nor any care to preſerve the neceſſaries of life, they were conſtantly expoſed to the ſevereſt extremities of hunger and thirſt. But deriving, even from their very diſtreſſes, a courage ſuperior to every dan-

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ger, the ſight of a ſhip tranſported them to a degree of frenzy. They never deliberated on the attack, but it was their cuſtom to board the ſhip as ſoon as poſſible. The ſmallneſs of their veſſels, and the ſkill they ſhewed in the management of them, ſcreened them from the fire of the greater ſhips; and they preſented only the fore part of their little veſſels filled with fuſileers; who fired at the port holes with ſo much exactneſs, that it entirely confounded the moſt experienced gunners. As ſoon as they threw out the grappling, the largeſt veſſel ſeldom eſcaped them.



In caſes of extreme neceſſity, they attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exerciſed on the inhabitants of the new world, juſtified the implacable averſion they had ſworn againſt them. But this was heightened by a perſonal pique, from the mortification they felt, in ſeeing themſelves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fiſhing, which they juſtly conſidered as natural rights. Such were their principles of juſtice and religion, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they uſed to pray to heaven for the ſucceſs of it; and they never came back from the plunder, but they conſtantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

The ſhips that ſailed from Europe into America, ſeldom tempted their avidity. The merchandiſe they contained, would not eaſily have been ſold, nor been very profitable to theſe barbarians in

BOOK X. in thoſe early times. They always waited for them on their return, when they were certain, that they were laden with gold, ſilver, jewels and all the valuable productions of the new world. If they met with a ſingle ſhip, they never failed to attack her. As to the fleets, they followed them, till they ſailed out of the gulph of Bahama; and as ſoon as any one of the veſſels was ſeparated by accident from the reſt, it was taken. The Spaniards, who trembled at the approach of the Buccaneers, whom they called devils, immediately ſurrendered. Quarter was granted if the cargo were a rich one, if not, all the priſoners were thrown into the ſea.

PETER LEGRAND, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men on any one of his veſſels: with this ſmall number he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. He boarded them, having firſt given orders to ſink his own veſſel; and the crew were ſo ſurpriſed and intimidated by this daring inſtance of bravery, that they made no reſiſtance. He went immediately to the captain's cabin, who was then engaged at play, and having preſented a piſtol to his throat, compelled him to ſurrender. This commander, with the greater part of the crew, they landed at the neareſt cape, as an uſeleſs burthen to the ſhip they had ſo ill defended, and reſerved only a ſufficient number of ſailors to work her.

FIFTY-

FIFTY-FIVE Buccaneers, who had ſailed into the ſouthern ſea, proceeded as far as California. To return into the northern ſea they were obliged to ſail two thouſand leagues againſt the wind in a canoe. They arrived at the ſtreights of Magellan, when diſappointed and chagrined at having made no plunder in ſo rich a country, they took the reſolution to ſteer again their courſe towards Peru. They received intelligence that there was in the port of Auca, a ſhip whoſe cargo was valued at ſeveral millions: they took it, and immediately embarked upon it.

MICHAEL de BASCO, Jonqué and Lawrence le Graff were cruiſing before Carthagena with three ſmall veſſels, when two men of war ſailed out of the harbour with orders to attack theſe Buccaneers, and to bring them alive or dead. The pirates had no ſooner perceived them, but they began the engagement and took them. Thoſe who were not killed in the action were ſet on ſhore with a letter of thanks to the governor, for having ſent two ſuch good ſhips; at the ſame time acquainting him, that if he had ſtill any to ſpare, they would wait for them a fortnight; but if they had no money on board, the men were not to expect any quarter.

THE captains Michael and Brouage, having received intelligence that, in order to elude their vigilance, a very valuable cargo had been ſhipped from Carthagena in veſſels carrying a foreign flag; fell upon the two Dutch ſhips that were loaded with

BOOK X. with this treasure, and plundered them. The Dutch, exasperated at their being beaten by ships so inferior to theirs in strength and size, ventured to tell Michael de Basco openly, that if he had been alone, he would not have been so successful. *Let us begin the fight again*, replied the captain, with haughtiness, *and my companion shall only be spectator of the engagement. If I am the conqueror, I will not only have the silver you carry on board, but both your ships shall also be mine.* The Dutch, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, fearing, that if they took any time to consider of it, they would not have the liberry of refusing.

Captain Lawrence was unexpectedly overtaken by two Spanish ships, carrying each sixty pieces of cannon, and fifteen hundred men. *You have*, said he, addressing himself, to his companions, *too much experience not be sensible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occasion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. Valour, artifice, rashness and even despair itself, must now be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight that we may escape them.*

After this speech, that was received with general applause, the captain called to the bravest of the Buccaneers, and, in the presence of the rest, ordered him to set fire to the gun-powder, on the first signal he should give him; shewing, by this resolution, that they must either expect death, or de-

defend themſelves. He then ranged his men on both ſides of his veſſel, and raiſing his voice, in order to be more diſtinctly heard by every one, and extending his hand toward the enemy: *We muſt*, ſays he, *paſs between their ſhips, and fire upon them from every ſide.* This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and diſpatch. The galleons, however, were not taken; but the ſhips company were ſo reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage enough to continue to combat againſt a handful of reſolute men, who, even in their retreat, had carried away the honour of the victory. The Spaniſh commander atoned, by his death, for the diſgrace his ignorance and cowardice had ſtamped upon his country. In every engagement the Buccaneers ſhewed the ſame ſpirit of intrepidity.



When they had got a conſiderable booty, at firſt they held their rendezvous at the iſland of Tortuga, in order to divide the ſpoil; but afterwards the French went to St. Domingo, and the Engliſh to Jamaica. Each perſon holding up his hand ſolemnly proteſted that he had ſecreted nothing of what he had taken. If any one among them was convicted of perjury, a caſe that ſeldom happened, he was left, as ſoon as an opportunity offered, upon ſome deſert iſland, as a traitor unworthy to live in ſociety. Such brave men among them as had been maimed in any of their expeditions, were firſt provided for. If they had loſt a hand, an arm, a leg, or a foot, they received two

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BOOK X. hundred crowns*. An eye, a finger, or a toe, loſt in fight, was valued only at half the above ſum. The wounded were allowed a crown † a day for two months, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to anſwer theſe ſeveral demands, the whole company were obliged to engage in ſome freſh expedition and to continue it till they had acquired a ſufficient ſtock to enable them to ſatisfy ſuch honourable contracts.

AFTER this act of juſtice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided into as many ſhares as there were Buccaneers. The commander could only lay claim to a ſingle ſhare as the reſt; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as he had acquitted himſelf to their ſatisfaction. When the veſſel was not the property of the company, the perſon who had fitted it out and furniſhed it with neceſſary arms and proviſions, was entitled to a third of all the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the diviſion of the booty; for every ſhare was determined by lot. Inſtances of ſuch rigid juſtice as this, are not eaſily met with; and they extended even to the dead. Their ſhare was given to the man who was known to be their companion when alive, and therefore, their heir. If the perſon who had been killed had no intimate, his part was ſent to his relations, when they were known. If there were no friends or relations, it was diſtributed in charity to the poor and to

* 26l. 5s. † 2s. 7d. ½.

to churches, which were to pray for the perſon, in whoſe name theſe benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but neceſſary pyratical plunder. BOOK X.

When theſe duties had been complied with, they then indulged themſelves in all kinds of profuſion. Unbounded licentiouſneſs in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmoſt pitch of exceſs, and was ſtopt only by the want which ſuch profuſions brought on. Thoſe men who were enriched with ſeveral millions, were in an inſtant totally ruined, and deſtitute of cloths and proviſions. They retured to ſea, and the new ſupplies they acquired were ſoon laviſhed in the ſame manner. If they were aſked, what ſatisfaction they could find in diſſipating ſo rapidly, what they had gained with ſo much difficulty; they made this very ingenious reply: "Expoſed "as we are, to ſuch a variety of dangers, our "life is totally different from that of other men. "Why ſhould we, who are alive to-day, and may "be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? We "reckon only the day we have lived, but never "think upon that which is to come. Our con-"cern is rather to ſquander life away than to pre-"ſerve it."

The Spaniſh colonies flattering themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing an end to their miſeries, and reduced almoſt to deſpair in finding themſelves a perpetual prey to theſe ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences, and fortune their connections procured them,

BOOK X. them, and formed themſelves almoſt into ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate ſtates. They were ſenſible of the inconveniences ariſing from ſuch a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and ſavage men, had greater influence over them, than the dictates of honour, intereſt and policy. This was the riſe of that ſpirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

THIS deſpondency ſerved only to increaſe the boldneſs of the Buccaneers. As yet they had only appeared in the Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to carry off ſome proviſions, when they were in want of them. They no ſooner found their captures begin to diminiſh, than they determined to recover by land what they had loſt at ſea. The richeſt and moſt populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waſte. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than ſail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

AMONG the Buccaneers, who ſignalized themſelves in this new ſpecies of excurſions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumſtantial account of the cruelties practiſed in the conqueſt of the new world, he conceived an averſion that he carried to a degree of frenzy againſt that nation that had committed ſuch enormities. Upon this point a ſtory is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting

acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the perſon who perſonated the Spaniard, with ſuch fury, that he would have ſtrangled him, had he not been reſcued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually repreſented to him innumerable multitudes of people maſſacred by ſavage monſters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irreſiſtible ardour to revenge ſo much innocent blood. The enthuſiaſm this ſpirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel than that of religious fanaticiſm, to which ſo many victims had been ſacrificed. The names of theſe unhappy ſufferers ſeemed to rouze him and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard ſome account of the Buccaneers, who were ſaid to be the moſt inveterate enemies to the Spaniſh name: he therefore embarked on board a ſhip in order to join them.

In the paſſage they met with a Spaniſh veſſel, attacked it, and as it was uſual in thoſe times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a ſabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ſhip to the other, levelled every thing that oppoſed him. When he had compelled the enemy to ſurrender, leaving to his companions the happineſs of dividing ſo rich a booty, he contented himſelf with the ſavage pleaſure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards, lying in heaps together, againſt whom he had ſworn a conſtant and deadly hatred.

BOOK X. FRESH opportunities ſoon occurred, that enabled him to exert this ſpirit of revenge, without extinguiſhing it. The ſhip he was in arrived at the coaſt of St. Domingo; where the Buccaneers on land immediately applied to barter ſome proviſions for brandy. As the articles they offered were of little value, they alledged in excuſe, that their enemies had over-run the country, laid waſte their ſettlements, and carried off all they could. "Why," replied Montbar, do you tamely ſuffer ſuch inſults?" "Neither do we, anſwered they in the "ſame tone; the Spaniards have experienced what "kind of men we are, and have therefore taken "advantage of the time when we were engaged in "hunting. But we are going to join ſome of our "companions, who have been ſtill more ill-treated than we, and then we ſhall have warm work." "if you approve it, anſwered Montbar, I will "head you, not as your commander, but as the "foremoſt to expoſe myſelf to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was ſuch a man as they wanted, chearfully accepted his offer. The ſame day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuoſity that aſtoniſhed the braveſt. Scarce one Spaniard eſcaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally diſtinguiſhed as this day. The Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from him, both by land and at ſea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His ſavage diſpoſition, as well as that of the other Buccaneers who attended him, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themſelves within their ſettlements, theſe free-booters reſolved to attack them there. This new method of carrying on the war, required ſuperior forces, and their aſſociations in conſequence became more numerous. The firſt that was conſiderable, was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the ſands of Olones the place of his birth. From the abject ſtate of a bondſman, he had gradually raiſed himſelf to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With theſe he was ſo ſucceſsful, as to take a Spaniſh frigate on the coaſt of Cuba. A ſlave having obſerved that after the engagement, all the men who were wounded were put to death, and fearing leſt he ſhould ſhare the ſame fate, wanted to ſave himſelf by a perfidious declaration, but very conſiſtent with the part he had been deſtined to take. He aſſured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on board, in order to ſerve as executioner to all the Buccaneers he had ſentenced to be hanged, not doubting in the leaſt but they would be all taken priſoners. The ſavage Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, ſucking, at each ſtroke, the drops of blood that trickled down his ſabre. He then repaired to the Port-au-Prince, in which were four ſhips, fitted out purpoſely to ſail in purſuit of him. He

BOOK X. took them, and threw all the crew into the sea, except one man, whom he saved, in order to send him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and assuring him, that he would treat in the same manner all the Spaniards that should fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himself, if he should be so fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize ships aground, and sailed with his frigate only to the island of Tortuga.

HERE he met with Michael de Basco, who had so much distinguished himself, for having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spanish ship, estimated at five millions of livres*, and by other actions equally brave and daring. These two adventurers gave out, that they were going to embark together on an expedition equally glorious and profitable; in consequence of which they soon collected together four hundred and forty men. This body of men, the most numerous the Buccaneers had yet been able to muster, sailed to the bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country, for the space of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for its defence, was taken; the cannon nailed up, and the whole garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, put to death. They then reimbarked, came to Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake of the same name, at the distance of ten leagues from its mouth.

This

* 218,500l.

This city, which had become flouriſhing and rich by its trade in ſkins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deſerted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other ſide of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not loſt a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had ſecreted, to ſecure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the uſeleſs ſatisfaction of making themſelves maſters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood; for the inhabitants had already removed at a diſtance the moſt valuable part of their property. Exaſperated at this diſappointment, they ſet fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have ſhared the ſame fate, had it not been ranſomed. Beſides the ſum they received for its ranſom, they alſo carried off with them all the croſſes, pictures and bells of the churches; intending, as they ſaid, to build a chapel in the iſland of Tortuga, and to conſecrate this part of their ſpoils to ſacred purpoſes. Such was the religion of theſe barbarous people, who could make no other offering to heaven, than that which aroſe from their robberies and plunder. BOOK X.

While they were idly diſſipating the ſpoils they had made on the coaſt of Venezuela, Morgan, the moſt renowned of the Engliſh Buccaneers, ſailed from Jamaica to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operations was ſo well contrived, that he ſurpriſed the city, and took it without oppoſition. In or-

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der to secure the fort with the same facility, he compelled the women and the priests to fix the scaling ladders to the walls, from a full conviction, that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards, would never suffer them to fire at the persons they considered as the objects of their love and reverence. But the garrison was not to be deceived by this artifice, and was only to be subdued by force of arms; the treasures that were carried away from this famous port, were acquired at the expence of much bloodshed.

The conquest of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To secure this, Morgan thought it necessary to sail in the latitudes of Costa-Ricca, to procure some guides in the island of St. Catherine's, where the Spaniards confined their malefactors. This place was so strongly fortified, that it ought to have held out for ten years against a considerable army. Notwithstanding this, the governor, on the first appearance of the pirates, sent privately to concert measures how he might surrender himself without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The result of this consultation was, that Morgan, in the night-time, should attack a fort at some distance, and the governor should sally out of the citadel to defend a post of so much consequence; that the assailants should then attack him in the rear, and take him prisoner, which would consequently occasion a surrender of the place. It was agreed that a smart firing should be kept on both sides, without doing mis-

miſchief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being expoſed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the Buccaneers, after having totally demoliſhed the fortifications, and put on board their veſſels a prodigious quantity of warlike ammunitions, which they found at St. Catherine's, ſteered their courſe towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them to arrive at the place which was the object of their utmoſt wiſhes.

At the entrance of this conſiderable river, a fort was built upon a ſteep rock, which the waves of the ſea conſtantly beat againſt. This bulwark, very difficult of acceſs, was defended by an officer, whoſe extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garriſon that deſerved ſuch a commander. The Buccaneers, for the firſt time, here met with a reſiſtance that could only be equalled by their perſeverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would ſucceed, or be obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the beſiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themſelves maſters of the place.

Morgan left his veſſels at anchor, with a ſufficient number of men to guard them, and ſailed up the river in his ſloops for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceaſes to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, that was

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only five leagues diſtant. Upon a large and extenſive plain that was before the city, he met with a conſiderable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greateſt eaſe, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

HERE were found prodigious treaſures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring foreſts were alſo found ſeveral rich depoſits. But the party of Buccaneers, who were making excurſions into the country, little ſatisfied with this booty, exerciſed the moſt ſhocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they diſcovered, to oblige them to confeſs where they had ſecreted their own as well as their maſters riches. A beggar accidentally going into a caſtle, that had been deſerted through fear, found ſome apparel that he put on. He had ſcarcely dreſſed himſelf in this manner, when he was perceived by theſe pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man ſhewed them the ragged clothes he had juſt thrown off. He was inſtantly tortured, but as he made no diſcovery, he was given up to ſome ſlaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treaſure the Spaniards had acquired in the new world by maſſacres and tortures, were reſtored again in the ſame manner.

IN the midſt of ſuch ſcenes of horror, the ſavage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inſpire the object of his attachment with favourable

favourable ſentiments towards him. He was re- BOOK
ſolved therefore to ſubdue by force the Spaniard X.
that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried ſhe to this ſavage, as ſhe ſprung with eagerneſs out of his arms, *Stop: Thinkeſt thou then, that thou canſt raviſh my honour from me, as thou haſt wreſted from me my fortune and my liberty? Be aſſured that I can die and be revenged.* Having ſaid this, ſhe drew out a poignard from under her gown, which ſhe would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

But Morgan, ſtill inflamed with a paſſion, that this determined reſiſtance had turned into madneſs, inſtead of the tenderneſs and attention he had made uſe of to ſubdue his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greateſt inhumanity. But the fair Spaniard, immoveably reſolute, excited, at the ſame time that ſhe reſiſted the frantic behaviour of Morgan; till at laſt the pirates, expreſſing their reſentment, at being kept ſo long in a ſtate of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the neceſſity of liſtening to their complaints, and giving up his purſuit. Panama was burnt. They then ſet ſail with a great number of priſoners, who were ranſomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

Before the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the diviſion of the ſpoil, Morgan, while the reſt of the pirates were in a deep ſleep, with the principal Buccaneers of his own country, ſailed

BOOK X. failed for Jamaica, in a veſſel which he had laden with the rich ſpoils of a city, that ſerved as the ſtaple of commerce between the old and the new world. This inſtance of treachery, unheard of before, occaſioned a rage and reſentment not to be deſcribed. The Engliſh purſued the robber, in hopes of wreſting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been fruſtrated. The French, though ſharers in the ſame loſs, retired to the iſland of Tortuga, where they made ſeveral expeditions. But they were all trifling, till in the year 1603, they attempted one of the greateſt conſequence.

THE plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Oſtend, though he had ſerved all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him ſuffer the leaſt ſigns of cowardice among thoſe who aſſociated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ſhip, ſucceſſively obſerved his men, and immediately killed thoſe who ſhrank at the ſudden report of a piſtol, gun, or cannon. This extordinary diſcipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other reſpects, he readily ſhared with the men of ſpirit and bravery the immenſe riches that were acquired by ſo truly warlike a diſpoſition. When he went upon theſe expeditions, he generally ſailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But theſe new deſigns requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his aſſiſtance Grammont, God-

Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, diſtinguiſhed by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had ſignalized himſelf ſtill more than they. Twelve hundred Buccaneers joined themſelves to theſe famous commanders, and ſailed in ſix veſſels for Vera Cruz. BOOK X.

THE darkneſs of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being diſcovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the poſts of the greateſt conſequence; every thing, in ſhort, that could occaſion any reſiſtance, was taken by the break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were ſhut up in the churches, where they had fled for ſhelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A Buccaneer, with a lighted Match, was to ſet fire to it upon the leaſt appearance of an inſurrection.

WHILE the city was kept in ſuch terror, it was eaſily pillaged; and after the Buccaneers had carried off what was moſt valuable, they made a propoſal to the citizens who were kept priſoners in the churches, to ranſom their lives and liberties by a contribution of ten millions of livres*. Theſe unfortunate people, who had neither ate nor drank for three days, chearfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the ſame day: the other part was expected from the internal parts of the country; when there appeared

* 437,500l.

BOOK X. peared on an eminence a conſiderable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips from Europe. At the ſight of this armament the Buccaneers, without any marks of ſurprize, retreated quietly with fifteen hundred ſlaves they had carried off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the reſt of the money they expected, the ſettling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. Theſe ruffians ſincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms upon the coaſts where they made a deſcent, was their lawful property; and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of theſe contributions they compelled the inhabitants to ſign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the intereſt of that part of the ſum that was not yet paid.

THEIR retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly ſailed through the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, that let them paſs without firing a ſingle gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have eſcaped ſo eaſily, and with no other inconvenience, but what aroſe from their fears, if the veſſels of the pirates had not been laden with ſilver, or if the Spaniſh fleet had been freighted with any other effects but ſuch merchandiſe as were little valued by theſe pirates.

A year had ſcarce elapſed ſince their return from Mexico, when on a ſudden they were all ſeized with

with the rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. It is probable, that the hope of finding greater treaſures upon a ſea little frequented, than on one long expoſed to piracies of this kind, was the cauſe of this expedition. But it is ſomewhat remarkable, that both the French and Engliſh, and the particular aſſociations of theſe two nations, had projected this plan at the ſame time, without any communication, intercourſe, or deſign of acting in concert with each other. About four thouſand men were employed in this expedition. Some of them came to Terra-Firma, others by the ſtreights of Magellan, to the place that was the object of their wiſhes. If the intrepidity of theſe barbarians had been directed, under the influence of a ſkilful and reſpectable commander, to one ſingle uniform end, it is certain that they would have deprived the Spaniards of this important colony. But their natural character was an invincible obſtacle to ſo rare an union; for they always formed themſelves into ſeveral diſtinct bodies, ſometimes even ſo few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together, or ſeparated as the moſt trifling caprice directed. Grognier, Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers among the French: David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Towley, among the Engliſh.

Such of thoſe adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the ſtreights of Darien, ſeized upon the firſt veſſels they found upon the coaſt. Their aſſociates, who had ſailed in their own veſſels, were

BOOK X. were not much better provided. Weak however as they were, they beat ſeveral times the ſquadrons that were fitted out againſt them. But theſe victories were prejudicial to them, as they interrupted their navigation. When there were no more ſhips to be taken, they were continually obliged to make deſcents upon the coaſts to get proviſions; or to go by land in order to plunder thoſe cities where the booty was ſecured. They ſucceſſively attacked Seppa, Puebla-Nuevo, Leon, Realejo, Puebla-Viejo, Chiriquita, Leſparſo, Granada, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoanteca, Mucmeluna, Chiloteca, New-Segovia, and Guayaquil, the moſt conſiderable of all theſe places.

MANY of them were taken by ſurpriſe, and moſt of them deſerted by their inhabitants, who fled at the ſight of the enemy; taking, however, the precaution of carrying off with them their valuable effects. The Spaniards never ventured to defend themſelves, unleſs they were at leaſt twenty in number to one, and even then they were beaten. They were ſo much degenerated, that they loſt all ideas of the art of war, and were even unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. They were even more ignorant and cowardly than the Americans they trampled upon. This want of courage had increaſed from the terror the name of a Buccaneer inſpired them with. The monks had drawn them in the ſame colours in which they repreſented devils, as anthropophagi, beings who had not even the appearance of humanity; a ſpecies

cies of monkies, more miſchievous than men. Such a picture, the offſpring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind averſion and terror. As the Spaniards always fled at the approach of theſe monſters in human ſhape, they knew of no other method of revenging themſelves, but by burning or cutting in pieces a Buccaneer. As ſoon as theſe adventurers had quitted the place they had plundered, and any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was dug up again, mangled in different parts, or made to paſs through the various kinds of torture, that would have been practiſed upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the Buccaneers, was extended even to the places on which they had exerciſed their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and ſoil of the places which had been laid waſte, were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.



This rage equally impotent and childiſh, contributed only to embolden that of their enemies. As ſoon as they took a town, it was directly ſet on fire, unleſs a ſum, proportioned to its value was given to ſave it. The priſoners taken in battle were maſſacred without mercy, if they were not ranſomed by the governor or ſome of the inhabitants: gold, pearls, or precious ſtones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ranſom. Silver being too common, and too weighty for its current value, would have been troubleſome to them. The chances of fortune, that ſeldom

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dom leave guilt unpuniſhed, nor adverſity without a compenſation for its ſuffering, atoned for the crimes committed in the conqueſt of the new world, and the Indians were amply revenged of the Spaniards.

But it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that thoſe who committed ſuch outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the courſe of theſe piracies, from the effects of the climate, from diſtreſs or debauchery. Some were ſhipwrecked in paſſing the ſtreights of Magellan and at Cape Horn. Moſt of thoſe who attempted to get to the northern ſea by land, fell into the ambuſcade that was laid for them, and loſt either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The Engliſh and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that laſted four years, and found themſelves deprived of their braveſt inhabitants.

While ſuch piracies were committed on the ſouthern ocean, the northern was threatened with the ſame by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a military capacity in Europe; but his paſſion for wine, gaming and women, had obliged him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were ſufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous, and eloquent: he was endued with a ſound judgment, and was a perſon of approved valour, which ſoon made him be conſidered as the chief of the French Buccaneers.

neers. As ſoon as it was known that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a number of brave men. The governor of St. Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his maſter to approve of the project, equally wiſe and juſt, of fixing the pirates to ſome place, and inducing them to become cultivators, was deſirous of preventing the concerted expedition, and forbad it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater ſhare of ſenſe than his aſſociates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and ſternly replied: *How can Lewis diſapprove of a deſign he is unacquainted with, and which has been planned only a few days ago?* This anſwer highly pleaſed all the Buccaneers, who directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.



They landed without oppoſition. But at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, they were attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were beaten and purſued to the town; where both parties entered at the ſame time. The cannon they found there was immediately levelled againſt the citadel. As it had very little effect, they were contriving ſome ſtratagem to enable them to become maſters of the place; when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Engliſhman, and an officer of ſuch ſignal courage, that he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the greateſt extremities, than baſely to fly from the place with the reſt. The commander of the Buccaneers received him with marks of diſtinction,

BOOK X. generouſly releaſed him, gave him up all his effects, and beſides complimented him with ſome valuable preſents: ſuch influence have courage and fidelity even on the minds of thoſe, who ſeem to violate all the rights of ſociety.

THE conquerors of Campeachy ſpent two months in ſearching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preſerved. When all the treaſure they had collected from every quarter was depoſited in the ſhips, a propoſal was made to the governor of the province, who ſtill kept the field, with nine hundred men, to ranſom his capital city. His refuſal determined them to burn it, and demoliſh the citadel. The French, on the feſtival of St. Louis, were celebrating the anniverſary of their king; and in the tranſports of their patriotiſm, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million of logwood; a part, and a very conſiderable one too, of the ſpoil they had made. After this ſingular and extravagant inſtance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boaſt, they returned to St. Domingo.

THE little advantage which the Engliſh and French Buccaneers had made by their laſt expeditions upon the continent, had inſenſibly led them to have recourſe to their uſual pyratical expeditions upon the ſea. Both were employed in attacking the ſhips they met with; when a particular train of circumſtances again engaged the French

in

in that courſe which every thing had rendered them diſſatisfied with. The powerful influence that the words glory, country and gold carry with them, determined twelve hundred of them to join a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, that ſailed from Europe in 1697, under the command of Pointis, to attack the famous city of Carthagena. This was the moſt difficult enterpriſe that could be attempted in the new world. The ſituation of the port, the ſtrength of the place, the badneſs of the climate, were ſo many obſtacles that ſeemed inſurmountable to any but ſuch men as the Buccaneers were. All nations concurred in conferring on them the glory they had acquired by their ſucceſs; but they were baſely deprived of the advantages reſulting from it. The rapacious commander, who had gained booty, eſtimated at forty millions of livres*, ſcrupled not as ſoon as they ſet ſail, to offer forty thouſand crowns§ for the ſhare of thoſe who had been the chief inſtruments in procuring him ſo conſiderable a ſpoil.



The Buccaneers, exaſperated at this treatment, reſolved immediately to board the veſſel, called *the Scepter*, where Pointis himſelf was, and which, at that time, was too far diſtant from the reſt of the ſhips, to expect to be aſſiſted by them. This avaricious commander was upon the point of being maſſacred, when one of the male-contents cried out: *Brethren, why ſhould we attack this raſcal? he has carried off nothing that belongs to us. He has left our ſhare at Carthagena, and there we*



* 1,750,000l. § 5,250l.

BOOK X. *muſt go to recover it.* This propoſal was received with general applauſe. A ſavage joy at once ſucceeded that gloomy melancholy which had ſeized them, and without further deliberation, all their ſhips ſailed towards the city.

As ſoon as they had entered the city without meeting with any reſiſtance, they ſhut up all the men in the great church, and ſpoke to them in the following words: "We are ſenſible that you conſider us as men void of faith and of all religion, as devils rather than men. The opprobrious language you affect to make uſe of when you ſpeak of us, and the refuſal you have made to treat with us of the ſurrender of your city, are evident indications of the ſentiments you entertain of us. You ſee us here armed, and capable of avenging ourſelves. The paleneſs viſible upon your countenances, convinces us that you expect the moſt ſevere treatment, and your conſcience teſtifies that you deſerve it. We ſhall ſoon undeceive you, and convince you that we do not deſerve the infamous appellations you load us with: but that they belong rather to the general under whoſe command we have lately fought. The traitor has deceived us. Though he owes the conqueſt of this city to our valour, he yet refuſes to ſhare the ſpoils of it with us, and by this inſtance of injuſtice has compelled us to return to you. We do it with regret, and the moderation we ſhall ſhew will be a proof of it. We pledge our faith

"to

" to you, that we will immediately retreat as ſoon BOOK
" as you have paid us five millions of livres*; X.
" this is the utmoſt of our claim. But if you re-
" fuſe us ſo equitable a demand, the greateſt diſ-
" treſſes await you, the cauſe of which you can only
" aſcribe to yourſelves, and the infamous Pointis,
" whom you are at liberty to load with all kinds
" of execrations."

After this diſcourſe, the moſt venerable prieſt in the city mounted the pulpit, and made uſe of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to perſuade his hearers to yield up without reſerve all the gold, ſilver and jewels they had. The collection, which was made after the ſermon, not furniſhing the ſum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houſes they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but not with that ſucceſs they expected, and they concluded by torturing the principal inhabitants.

Two of the citizens of the greateſt diſtinction were ſeized, and ſeparately queſtioned where the public money and that of the individuals was depoſited. They declared they knew nothing of the matter; but their anſwer was accompanied with ſo much ſimplicity as well as firmneſs, that the pirates would not make uſe of any ſeverities againſt them. It was, however, agreed, that they ſhould apparently be killed, by diſcharging ſeveral ſhots at them. Two other citizens were then



* 218,750l.

BOOK X. called; whoſe behaviour was ſimilar to that of the former, and the ſame ceremony was practiſed upon them. It was publickly given out that all the four had been killed, and that all thoſe who ſhould perſiſt in the ſame obſtinate ſilence, ſhould be treated in the ſame manner. This proclamation proved extremely ſucceſsful, for above a million* was brought in the very ſame day; and ſome further contributions were made ſome days after. The adventurers, at length, deſpairing to add any thing to what they had already amaſſed, ſet ſail. Unfortunately they met with a fleet of Dutch and Engliſh ſhips, both thoſe nations being then in alliance with Spain. Several of the pirates were either taken or ſunk, with all the cargo they had on board their ſhips; the reſt eſcaped to St. Domingo.

Such was the laſt memorable event in the hiſtory of the Buccaneers. The ſeparation of the Engliſh and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations; the ſucceſsful means they both made uſe of to promote the cultivation of land among their colonies, by the aſſiſtance of theſe enterpriſing men, and the prudence they ſhewed in fixing the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them and intruſting them with civil and military employments: the protection they were both under a neceſſity of affording to the Spaniſh ſettlements, which till then had been a general object of plunder: all theſe circumſtances,

* 43,750l.

cumſtances, and various others, beſides the impoſſibility there was of ſupplying the place of theſe remarkable men, who were continually dropping off concurred to put an end to a ſociety, as extraordinary as ever exiſted. Without any regular ſyſtem, without laws, without any degree of ſubordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the aſtoniſhment of that age in which they lived, as they will be alſo of poſterity. They would have conquered all America, if conqueſt and not piracy had been the motive of their actions. BOOK X.

England, France and Holland had ſent at different times conſiderable fleets into the new world. The intemperance of the climate, the want of ſubſiſtence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the beſt concerted ſchemes unſucceſsful. Neither of theſe nations acquired any national glory, nor made any conſiderable progreſs by them. Upon the very ſcene of their diſgrace, and on the very ſpot where they were ſo ſhamefully repulſed, a ſmall number of adventurers, who had no other reſources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itſelf afforded them, ſucceeded in the moſt difficult enterpriſes. They ſupplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded paſſion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of ſoul that enables us to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that ſuperiority in action, which the moſt

BOOK X. approved military diſcipline, the moſt powerful combinations of ſtrength, the beſt regulated governments, the moſt honourable and moſt ſtriking rewards and marks of diſtinction, will never be able to excite.

THE principle which actuated theſe extrordinary and romantic men, is not eaſily diſcovered. It cannot be aſcribed to want: the earth they trod upon, offered them immenſe treaſures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have ſquandered away in a day the ſpoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore ſacrifice themſelves for its defence, for the aggrandizing its territories, or revenging its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing ſuch numberleſs enormities and crimes, which caſt a ſhade on all their brighteſt actions. Neither could a ſpirit of indolence and eaſe ever make men ruſh into conſtant fatigues, and ſubmit to the greateſt dangers.

WHAT then were the moral cauſes that gave riſe to ſo ſingular a ſociety as that of the Buccaneers? That country, where nature ſeems to have obtained a perpetual and abſolute power over the moſt turbulent paſſions; where the intemperate riot and intoxication occaſioned by public feſtivals, was neceſſary to rouze men from an habitual ſtate of lethargy; where they lived ſatisfied with their tedi-

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ous and indolent courſe of life: that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who from the ſcorching heat of their atmoſphere, ſeemed to have carried their ſentiments to the greateſt exceſs, and their paſſions to a degree of phrenzy. While the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the new world; while the Spaniards, who were ſo reſtleſs, and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed with conquered Americans a life habituated to eaſe and melancholy; a ſet of men, who had come out of the moſt temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator to acquire powers unknown before.

If we are deſirous of tracing the origin of this revolution, we may perceive that it ariſes from the Buccaneers having lived under the ſhackles of European governments. The ſpirit of liberty being repreſſed for ſo many ages, exerted its power to a degree almoſt inconceivable, and occaſioned the moſt terrible effects that ever appeared in the moral world. Reſtleſs and enthuſiaſtic men of every nation joined themſelves to theſe adventurers, as ſoon as they heard of the ſucceſs they had met with. The charms of novelty, the idea of and deſire excited by diſtant objects, the want of a change in ſituation, the hopes of better fortune, the impulſe which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions, admiration, which eaſily induces men to imitation, the neceſſity of getting the better of thoſe impediments that are the conſequences of imprudence, the force of example,

BOOK X. ample, and the being equally partakers of the same good and bad fortune among those who have frequently associated together; in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together with several accidental circumstances, had raised in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greatest prosperity, or sunk in the deepest distress; at one time stained with blood, at another plunged into voluptuousness, rendered the Buccaneers a people wholly distinct in history; but a people whose duration was so transient, that its glory lasted, as it were, but a moment.

We are, however, accustomed to consider these ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deserve; as the instances of fidelity, integrity, disinterestedness and generosity, they shewed to one another, did not prevent the outrages they perpetually committed against mankind. But amidst such enormities, it is impossible not to be struck with a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the most virtuous people.

Some Buccaneers had agreed for a certain sum to escort a Spanish ship, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propose to his companions to enrich themselves at once, by making themselves masters of the ship. The famous Montauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no sooner heard the proposal, than he desired to resign the command, and to be set on shore. What! replied these brave men, would you then leave us?

Is there any one who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A council was immediately held; and it was determined that the guilty perſon ſhould be thrown upon the firſt coaſt they came to. They took an oath, that ſo diſhoneſt a man ſhould never be admitted in any expedition in which any of the brave men preſent ſhould be concerned, as they would think themſelves diſhonoured by ſuch a connection. If this is not to be looked upon as an inſtance of heroiſm, muſt we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthuſiaſm?

Cauſes that prevented the Engliſh and Dutch from making any conqueſt in America, during the war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

AMERICA had ſcarcely recovered from the ravages ſhe had ſuſtained: ſhe had ſcarce begun to be ſenſible of the advantages ſhe derived from the induſtry of the Buccaneers, who were now become citizens and huſbandmen; when the old world exhibited the ſcene of ſuch a revolution, as alarmed and terrified the new. Charles the ſecond, king of Spain, had juſt ended a life of trouble and anxiety. His ſubjects perſuaded that a deſcendent of the houſe of Bourbon alone, was able to preſerve the monarchy entire, had urged him towards the cloſe of his life, to appoint the duke of Anjou his ſucceſſor. The idea of having the government of two and twenty kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions. But after ſeveral internal ſtruggles, and numberleſs marks of irreſolution, he

BOOK X. he at laſt prevailed upon himſelf to ſhew an example of juſtice, and greatneſs of ſoul, which the natural weakneſs of his character gave little reaſon to expect from him.

EUROPE, tired out for half a century, with the haughtineſs, ambition, and tyranny of Lewis the XIV, exerted its combined forces to prevent the increaſe of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad adminiſtration, had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the ſpirit of ſuperſtition, and conſequently of weakneſs, that prevailed then in France, had procured ſuch advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled from the union of ſeveral powers againſt a ſingle one. This league gained an influence, that was increaſed by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were ſoon left without ſtrength or fame. To add to their misfortunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a ſenſe of compaſſion at the miſeries they experienced.

ENGLAND and Holland, after having profuſely laviſhed their blood and treaſures in defence of the Emperor, thought it neceſſary to attend to their own intereſts in America. This country invited them to rich as well as eaſy conqueſts. Spain, ſince the deſtruction of its galleons at Vigo, had no ſhips; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverſe of fortune that had reduced her

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to the loweſt ebb, had neglected her navy. This inattention was owing to a diſtant cauſe.

LEWIS the XIV. was, in his earlier age, ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, and conſequently imagined, that without a navy, the ſplendour of his reign would in ſome degree be diminiſhed. It is more than probable, that he conſidered his fleet only as one of the means that would tend to fill all nations with admiration, to puniſh the Genoeſe and Algerines, and convey the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. Had he, in that plan of greatneſs he was deſirous of acquiring to himſelf, conſidered a naval power as a part of it, he would have imitated Cromwel, and encouraged navigation, which ſupports a marine by commerce. Falſe ideas of things miſled him in this particular. In proportion as the reſtleſſneſs of his temper drew upon him freſh enemies, and that he found himſelf obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in conſtant pay; that the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and that his forts were more numerous, the number of his ſhips decreaſed. He made uſe of part of the funds that were deſtined to eſtabliſh his maritime power, even before his neceſſities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings that were either uſeleſs or too magnificent, objects of oſtentation or of mere pleaſure, and various other cauſes, equally trifling, drained the money that ought to have been employed in ſupporting his navy. From that time,

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BOOK X. this part of the power of France began to grow weak: it inſenſibly declined, and was entirely loſt in the misfortunes of the war that was raiſed for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

At this period the acquiſitions the Spaniſh and French had made in the Weſt-Indies, were not put in a ſtate of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely ſoon to become the property of Great Britain and the United Provinces; the only modern nations who had eſtabliſhed their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vaſt diſcoveries of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, had given them, indeed, an excluſive poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures and productions that ſeemed to promiſe them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it: but theſe nations, intoxicated as they were with the love of gold and the idea of conqueſt had never in the leaſt ſuſpected that their poſſeſſions in the new world could ſupport their power in the old. The Engliſh and Dutch went into the contrary extreme, building their opinions upon the ſyſtem of the influence they ſuppoſed America muſt neceſſarily give to Europe. A ſyſtem which they not only miſapplied, but carried to exceſs.

These two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconſiderable ones, had from the earlieſt period diſcovered the true principles of commerce, and purſued them with greater perſeverance than might have been expected from the different ſituations they had been

been engaged in. Accidental circumſtances having at firſt animated the induſtry of the pooreſt of theſe nations, ſhe found herſelf very quickly equalled by her rival power, whoſe genius was more lively, and whoſe reſources were much greater. The war, occaſioned by a ſpirit of induſtry, and excited by jealouſy, ſoon degenerated into fierce, obſtinate and bloody engagements. Theſe were not merely ſuch hoſtilities as are carried on between two different people; they reſembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man againſt another. The neceſſity they were under of uniting, in order to check and reſtrain the power of France, ſuſpended theſe hoſtilities. The ſucceſs they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and deciſive, revived their former animoſity. From the apprehenſion they were under, that each ſtate was labouring for the aggrandizement of the other, they entirely neglected the invaſion of America. Queen Anne, at length, availing herſelf of a favourable opportunity for concluding a ſeparate peace, procured ſuch advantageous terms, as gave the Engliſh a great ſuperiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time England became of the greateſt importance in the political ſyſtem of Europe, and Holland was totally diſregarded.

The years ſucceeding the peace of Utrecht, revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a ſufficient ſtate of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not diſturb its peace, by carrying their arms and their diſſentions into every

BOOK X. every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harveſt of the huſbandman was not laid waſte. The ſailor ventured to ſail in every ſea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more ſaw their children forced from them to laviſh their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious miniſter. Nations did no longer unite to gratify the paſſions of their ſovereigns. For ſome time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at leaſt, as the pride of princes and the avidity of the people would allow.

THOUGH this general happineſs was to be attributed to thoſe who held the reins of government, yet the improvements of reaſon contributed, in ſome degree, to produce it. Philoſophy then began to lay open and recommend the ſentiments of benevolence. The writings of ſome philoſophers had been made public or diſperſed among the people, and contributed to poliſh and refine their manners. The ſpirit of moderation had inſpired men with the love of the more uſeful and pleaſing arts of life, and abated, at leaſt, the deſire they till then had of deſtroying one another. The thirſt of blood ſeemed to be aſſwaged, and all nations, with the aſſiſtance of the diſcoveries they had made, ardently ſet about the improvement of their population, agriculture and manufactures.

THIS ſpirit of activity exerted itſelf principally in the Caribbee iſlands. The ſtates upon the continent can ſubſiſt, and even flouriſh, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and

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on their frontiers; becauſe the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their ſubſiſtence and internal conſumptions. The caſe is very different with regard to thoſe ſettlements that different nations have formed in the great Archipelago of America. In theſe, life and property are equally precarious. None of the neceſſaries of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel and the inſtruments of huſbandry are not even made in the country. All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an eaſy and ſafe communication with Africa, with the northern coaſts of the new world, but principally with Europe, can procure theſe iſlands that free circulation of the neceſſaries of life they receive, and of thoſe ſuperfluities they give in exchange for them. The more the coloniſts had ſuffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion, that had thrown every thing into confuſion, the greater was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the loſſes their fortunes had ſuſtained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakneſs would inſure a laſting tranquillity, encouraged the moſt cautious merchants to ſupply the coloniſts with goods in advance; a circumſtance that contributed greatly to quicken the progreſs they made, which, notwithſtanding all their care and attention, would otherwiſe have been very ſlow. Theſe aſſiſtances inſured as well as increaſed the proſperity of the iſlands, till a ſtorm, that had been a

BOOK X.

BOOK X. long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and disturbed the peace of the world.

The islands of America are the cause of the war in 1739.

THE English colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements in the new world, which custom had long made them consider as lawful. The court of Madrid, becoming better acquainted with its interests, concerted measures to put a stop to, or at least to check this intercourse. The plan might possibly be prudent, but it was necessary it should be put in execution with equity. If the ships that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only seized upon those vessels that were concerned in it, this measure would have deserved commendation. But the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and, perhaps, too a spirit of revenge, incited them to stop, under the pretext of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ships which in reality had a legal destination.

ENGLAND, whose security, power and glory is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently suffer even her usurpations to be restrained; but was highly incensed when she found that these hostilities were carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. In London, and in the house of parliament, general complaints were made against the authors of them, and invectives against the minister who suffered them. Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whose character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spanish council which shewed less

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ſpirit as the ſtorm increaſed, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Thoſe fixed upon, and ſigned at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by its intereſts, its reſentments, and by party ſpirit, and eſpecially by the number of political writings that were conſtantly publiſhed on the ſubject.

England teems daily with numberleſs productions of the preſs, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among theſe writings ſome are judicious, written by men of underſtanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their advice contributes to diſcover to the public their true intereſts, and to aſſiſt the operations of government. Few uſeful regulations of internal oeconomy are adopted in the ſtate, that have not firſt been pointed out, modelled, or improved in ſome of theſe writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of ſuch an advantage. But among the few ſenſible men, who ſerve to enlighten their country, numbers are to be met with, who either from a diſguſt to thoſe in power, or from a deſire of falling in with the taſte of the people, or from ſome perſonal motives, delight in fomenting a ſpirit of diſſention and diſcontent. The means generally made uſe of for this purpoſe, are to heighten the pretenſions of their country beyond their juſt and legal bounds, and to make the people conſider the ſmalleſt precautions taken by other powers for the preſervation of their poſſeſſions, as

BOOK X. visible encroachments. These exaggerations, equally partial and false, establish prejudices the effects of which occasion the nation to be constantly at war with its neighbours. If government, from a desire of preserving the balance of justice between itself and other powers, should refuse to yield to popular prejudices, it finds itself, at length, under a necessity of doing it.

THE mob of London, the most contemptible of any in the universe, as the people of England considered in a political view, are the first people in the world; abetted by twenty thousand young men, the sons of distinguished merchants, beset the parliament house with clamours and threats, and influence its deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itself. These despicable men, once rouzed, revile the most respectable citizen, who has incurred their displeasure, and been rendered suspicious to them; they set fire to his house, and scandalously insult the most sacred characters. The tumult can never be appeased, unless they force the ministry to yield to their fury. This indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public measures, was, perhaps, never so sensibly felt as at the period we are speaking of.

ENGLAND began the war with much superior advantages. She had a great number of sailors on foot. Her storehouses filled with warlike ammunitions, and her dock-yards were in the most flourishing condition. Her fleets were all manned

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and ready for ſervice, and commanded by expe- BOOK
rienced officers, waited only for orders to ſet ſail, X.
and ſpread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting ſuch great advantages, muſt not be cenſured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above ſuſpicion, ſince he was never even accuſed of corruption, in a country where ſuch charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehenſion he was under of involving himſelf in difficulties that might endanger his adminiſtration; the neceſſity he found of applying thoſe treaſures in military operations, that he had amaſſed to bribe and ſecure to himſelf a party, joined to that of impoſing new taxes, which muſt neceſſarily raiſe to the higheſt degree the averſion that had been entertained both for his perſon and principles: all theſe, and ſome other circumſtances occaſioned an irreſolution in his conduct that was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. He loſt time, which is of the utmoſt importance in every expedition, but particularly deciſive in all naval operations.

The fleet that Vernon commanded, after having deſtroyed Porto-Bello, was unſucceſsful at Carthagena, rather from the badneſs of the climate, the miſunderſtanding and inexperience of the officers, than the valour of the garriſon. Anſon's fleet was loſt at the doubling of Cape Horn, which ſome months ſooner might have been per-

BOOK X. formed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole ſquadron, from what he actually performed with a ſingle ſhip, it is not improbable but that he would at leaſt have ſhaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A ſettlement that was attempted in the iſland of Cuba was not proſperous. Thoſe who intended building a city there, all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of fort St. Auſtin in Florida, vigorouſly defended by Manuel Montiano, who had time enough to prepare himſelf againſt the attack.

THOUGH the firſt efforts of the Engliſh againſt Spaniſh America, were not ſucceſsful, yet the alarm was not appeaſed. The navy, the character, and government of the Engliſh, were three great reſources they had ſtill left, ſufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with thoſe of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of ſuch as were overwhelmed with fear. Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the emperor Charles the VIth, had kindled in Europe an obſtinate war, in which the Britiſh troops were detained, to ſupport an intereſt that was extremely doubtful. The hoſtilities, commenced in diſtant countries with ſuch great preparations, terminated at laſt inſenſibly in a few piracies, that were committed on both ſides.

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The moſt remarkable event that happened at that time, was the taking of Cape-Breton, which expoſed the fiſhery, commerce and colonies of France, to the greateſt dangers. This valuable poſſeſſion was reſtored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up, was not leſs the object of cenſure.

The French, ever influenced by a ſpirit of chivalry, that has ſo long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the ſacrifice of their lives ſufficiently compenſated, if it has contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to ſay, when they have compelled their prince to the neceſſity of governing them with leſs attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the ſame as it was before the war, they then think their honour is loſt. This rage for conqueſt, excuſable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones ſhould never be reproached with, threw diſgrace on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which reſtored to Auſtria all the places that had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious, to attend to political diſcuſſions, could not be convinced, that by forming any kind of eſtabliſhment for the infant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually ſecured; that ſhe herſelf was thereby engaged to adjuſt, with the houſe of Auſtria, ſome intereſts of the greateſt importance: that by becoming guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for Sileſia, two rival powers would in conſequence of ſuch

BOOK X. an arrangement be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that by reſtoring Friburg, and thoſe towns in Flanders that had been deſtroyed, they would be eaſily retaken, if war ſhould again be declared and carried on with vigour; beſides, that the number of land forces might always be very eaſily diminiſhed of fifty thouſand men, and the ſaving which ſuch a reduction would produce, might and ought to be employed in increaſing the navy.

If therefore the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of its affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming ſtate; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined; if ſome of her moſt conſiderable provinces had not been in the greateſt diſtreſs; if ſhe had not loſt the key of Canada; if her colonies had not been threatened with certain and immediate invaſion; if her navy had not been ſo entirely deſtroyed, as ſcarcely to have a ſhip left to ſend into the new world; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a ſeparate treaty with England: independent of all theſe circumſtances, yet the peace, that was then made, would have deſerved the approbation of the moſt ſenſible and judicious men.

The eaſe with which Marſhal Saxe could penetrate into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing ſeemed im-

impoſſible to the victorious arms of Lewis the XV; but it may be thought paradoxical to aſſert, that the Engliſh were extremely deſirous of ſeeing the Dutch ſubdued. If the republic, which could not poſſibly ſeparate itſelf from its allies, had been conquered, its inhabitants, filled as they were with ancient as well as preſent prejudices againſt the government, laws, manners and religion of their conqueror would hardly have ſubmitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their ſtock, and their induſtry to Great Britain? And can there be the leaſt doubt whether ſuch conſiderable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the Engliſh, than an alliance with the Dutch?



To this obſervation let us venture to add another, which though not attended to before, will, perhaps, not ſeem leſs evident. The court of Vienna has been thought either very fortunate, or very ſkilful, to have been able by the means of negociations, to have wreſted out of the hands of the French thoſe places which had been taken from her during the war. But would ſhe not have been more fortunate, or more ſkilful, had ſhe ſuffered her enemy to keep part of the conqueſts obtained over her? That period is now paſſed, when the houſe of Auſtria was equal, or, perhaps, ſuperior to the houſe of Bourbon. Policy, therefore, ſhould have engaged her to intereſt other powers in her fortune, even from the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained. This ſhe might have effected by ſacrificing

BOOK X. ing something, apparently at least, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increasing power of this monarchy, which is naturally an object of hatred, envy and fear, would have renewed that spirit of animosity that had been sworn against Lewis the XIV; and more formidable leagues would necessarily have been formed in consequence of such sentiments. This general disposition of people was more likely to have recovered the greatness of the new house of Austria, than the re-acquisition of a distant and limitted territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary who managed the negociation, as well as the minister who directed it, would have seen through the artifice. We do not even scruple to assert, that neither of these statesmen had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the same penetration to unravel political designs in the council, to which they were responsible for their conduct? This is a point we cannot presume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories, and that of France is, from its constitution, equally so.

But whatever truth there may be in these reflections, it must be allowed, that the expectations of the two French ministers, who settled the peace, were disappointed. The principal object they had in view was the preservation of the colonies, that had been threatened by the enemy. But as soon

as

as the danger was over, this unbounded ſource of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the ſame manner as if another Charles the Vth had threatened her frontiers; or another Philip the IId could have thrown the internal parts of the kingdom into confuſion by his intrigues. She was not ſenſible that her ſuperiority upon the continent was acknowledged, that no ſingle power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the laſt war, and the arrangements ſettled by the laſt peace, had rendered the union of ſeveral powers againſt her impoſſible. A number of apprehenſions equally weak and trifling diſturbed her tranquillity. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that ſhe had only one enemy really deſerving her attention, and that this enemy only could be reſtrained by a conſiderable fleet.



The Engliſh naturally more inclined to envy the proſperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only deſirous of becoming rich, but of being excluſively ſo. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly ſeek to extend their dominions, but their colonies. Commerce is the ſole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the deſire of engroſſing it all to themſelves, has made them perform many great actions, and commit the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice. This paſſion is ſo powerful that even their philoſophers are not free from it.

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it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle uſed to ſay, that it would be a commendable action to preach chriſtianity to the ſavages; becauſe, were they to know only ſo much of it as would convince them of their obligation to wear clothes, it would prove of great ſervice to the Engliſh manufactures.

America was the cauſe of the war in 1755.

A ſyſtem of this nature, that the Engliſh have ſcarcely ever loſt ſight of, diſcovered itſelf more openly in 1755, than it had ever done before. The rapid improvements made in the French colonies ſurpriſed every attentive mind, and awakened the jealouſy of the Engliſh. Aſhamed however, to let it appear at firſt, they concealed it for ſome time under myſterious diſguiſes; and a people who have pride or modeſty enough to term negociations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not ſcruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the moſt inſidious policy.

FRANCE, alarmed at the confuſed ſtate of her finances, intimidated by the ſmall number of her ſhips, and the inexperience of her admirals; ſeduced by a love of eaſe, pleaſure and tranquillity, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did ſome able ſtateſmen continually urge that Great Britain was and ought to be deſirous of a war; and that ſhe was compelled to begin it before the naval eſtabliſhment of her rival had attained to the ſame degree of perfection as her trading navy. Theſe cauſes of apprehenſion ſeemed abſurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a ſpirit of imitation only; where

where it had been ſhackled by every ſpecies of reſtraint, and always ſacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and men were, perhaps, ignorant that they were in poſſeſſion of the moſt valuable and richeſt commerce in the world. A nation, that was indebted to nature for a moſt excellent ſoil; to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her diſpoſition for a taſte in thoſe arts which vary and increaſe the enjoyments of life; to her conqueſts and her literary merit, and even to the diſperſion of the proteſtants ſhe had unfortunately loſt, for the deſire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation that would be too happy, were ſhe permitted to enjoy her happineſs, would not perceive that ſhe might be deprived of ſome of theſe advantages, and inſenſibly fell a ſacrifice to thoſe arts employed to lull her into ſecurity. When the Engliſh thought there was no further occaſion to diſſemble, they commenced hoſtilities, without having previouſly paid any attention to thoſe formalities, that are in uſe among civilized people.

THOUGH a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which ſeem to be bound by no ties as ſoon as they intend to maſſacre one another; yet it is very evident, that the Britiſh miniſtry were more than doubtful of the injuſtice of their conduct. The timidity of their meaſures the perplexity of their operations, the prevaricating modes of juſtification they adopted, and the in-

BOOK X. influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve ſo ſcandalous a violation; theſe with ſeveral other circumſtances plainly diſcovered the guilt of their proceeding. If thoſe weak miniſters of ſo great a power, had been as bold in committing crimes, as they appeared regardleſs of the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the moſt extenſive nature. When they unjuſtly gave orders to attack all the French ſhips upon the northern coaſt of America, they would have extended theſe orders to every ſea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any reſiſtance, would have been the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſtrong confederacy. Its fall would have intimidated all other nations, and wherever the Engliſh flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A ſucceſs ſo remarkable and deciſive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have juſtified it to the political world, and the remonſtrances of the wiſe, would have been loſt in the clamours of the ignorant and ambitious.

The beginning of the war is unfavourable to the Engliſh.

A timid, but equally unjuſtifiable conduct, was attended with very contrary effects. The council of George the IId was hated as well as deſpiſed over all Europe; and the events correſponded to theſe ſentiments. France, though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, gained conſiderable advantages by ſea, took Minorca, and threatened London itſelf. Her rival was then ſenſible

ſible of the truth of what men of underſtanding had long ſince obſerved in England, that the French united the greateſt contrarieties in their character; that they blended virtues and vices, marks of weakneſs and ſtrength that had always been thought inconſiſtent with each other; that they were brave, though effeminate; equally addicted to pleaſure and glory; ſerious in trifles, and trifling in matters of importance; ever diſpoſed to war, and ready to attack: in a word, mere children, ſuffering themſelves, as the Athenians of old, to be diſquieted and moved to anger for real or imaginary intereſts; fond of enterpriſes and action, ready to follow any guide, and comforted in the greateſt misfortunes with the moſt trifling ſucceſs. The Engliſh, who according to a vulgar, though ſtrong expreſſion of Swift's, are *always in the cellar or in the garret*, and know no medium, began then to be too much afraid of a nation that they had unjuſtly deſpiſed. A ſpirit of deſpondency ſucceeded to that of preſumption.

The nation, corrupted by the too great confidence it had placed in its opulence; humiliated by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the moral character and inability of its governors; weakened too by the colliſion of factions, which keep up an exertion of ſtrength among a free people in times of peace, but which deſtroy their power in times of war: the nation, diſgraced, aſtoniſhed, and uncertain what meaſures to purſue; equally ſenſible of the diſtreſſes it had already been

expoſed

BOOK X. expoſed to, as of thoſe it foreſaw, was incapable of exerting itſelf to avenge the one, or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cauſe was confined to the granting of immenſe ſupplies. That the coward is ſooner diſpoſed to part with his money than the brave man in order to ward off the danger, and that the preſent critical ſituation of affairs required them not to conſider who ſhould pay, but who ſhould ſtand forward to fight; theſe were truths, which at that time ſeemed to have been forgotten.

THE French, on their part, were dazzled with ſome inſtances of ſucceſs that were of no conſequence. Preſuming, that the ſurpriſe their enemies had been thrown into, was a proof of their weakneſs, they involved themſelves further than was conſiſtent with their intereſt, in the diſturbances that then began to divide the German powers.

A SYSTEM, which if unſucceſsful, muſt have been attended with the greateſt diſgrace, and if fortunate, muſt have been deſtructive in the end, ſerved to confound them. Their levity made them forget, that a few months before, they had applauded the wiſe and enlightened ſtateſman, who being deſirous to avoid a land war, which ſome miniſters were willing to enter into from their deſpairing of ſucceſs at ſea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addreſſed himſelf to them in the following words: *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *let us all, who are here preſent in council,*

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*go out with torches in our hands, and ſet fire to all our ſhips, if they are uſeleſs to our defence, and are only conducive to make our enemies inſult us.* This political infatuation threw them into the greateſt difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was ſubjected to the intrigues of the court. A ſeries of bad ſucceſs was the conſequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This light and ſuperficial nation did not perceive, that even ſuppoſing, what indeed was impoſſible, that all thoſe who were ſucceſſively intruſted with the direction of the military operations, had really been men of abilities, yet they could not contend with advantage againſt a man of genius, aſſiſted by one of diſtinguiſhed capacity. Misfortunes made no alteration in the plan that had been formed, and the changes of generals was endleſs.

While the French were thus deceived, the Engliſh, from a ſpirit of dejection, were inflamed with the utmoſt reſentment: they changed a miniſter who had juſtly excited general diſſatisfaction, and placed at the head of affairs a man who was equally an enemy to timid meaſures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Though this choice was the conſequence of that ſpirit of party which cauſes the greateſt revolutions in England, yet it was ſuch as the circumſtances of the time required. William Pitt, a favourite from his youth in the three kingdoms, on account of his integrity and diſintereſtedneſs, his zeal againſt corruption,

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and his inviolable attachment to the intereſt of the public, had a ſoul formed for great deſigns; was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecies of eloquence that never failed to captivate the minds of his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterpriſing. He was ambitious to make his country riſe ſuperior to all others, and at the ſame time to raiſe his own fame. His enthuſiaſm fired a nation, which will always be inſpired by a love of liberty. The admiral who had ſuffered Minorca to be taken, was arreſted, thrown into priſon, accuſed, tried, and ſentenced to death. Neither his rank, abilities, family or friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law. His own ſhip was fixed upon as the ſpot where the ſentence paſſed upon him was to be put in execution. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether he was guilty or not, proclaimed in the moſt alarming manner to thoſe who were employed by the nation, what fate they muſt expect, if they betrayed the confidence repoſed in them. Every man ſaid within himſelf in the inſtant of battle: It is on this field I muſt die, rather than with infamy on a ſcaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accuſed of cowardice, was productive of a ſpirit of heroiſm.

THIS ſyſtem of holding out an example of terror to ſubdue the impreſſions of fear, was further ſtrengthened by an emulation, that ſeemed to promiſe

promiſe the revival of public ſpirit. Diſſipation, pleaſure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occaſion warm and frequent connections in moſt kingdoms of Europe. The Engliſh have leſs intercourſe and connection with each other; they have, perhaps, leſs taſte for ſocial life than other nations; but the idea of any project that may be ſerviceable to the ſtate, immediately unites them, and they ſeem, as it were, animated by one ſoul. All ranks, parties, and ſects, contribute to inſure its ſucceſs, and with ſuch liberality as cannot be paralleled in thoſe places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail. This zeal is more remarkably diſtinguiſhed when the nation has placed an implicit confidence in the miniſter who has the direction of public meaſures. As ſoon as Mr. Pitt was made prime miniſter, a marine ſociety was eſtabliſhed, which perceiving that there appeared a remiſſneſs in general to enter into the ſea ſervice, and diſapproving the cuſtom of preſſing men into it, invited the children of the pooreſt claſs in the three kingdoms, to become ſhip boys, and their fathers ſailors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage; to take care of them in ſickneſs; to feed, clothe, and furniſh them with every thing neceſſary to preſerve their health during the time they were to be at ſea. The king, ſtruck with this inſtance of patriotiſm, gave them 22,500 livres *; the prince of Wales 9000 livres †, and

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* 984l. 7s. 6d. † 393l. 15s.

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the princeſs of Wales 4500*. The actors of the different theatres, whoſe abilities have not been treated with contempt by this enlightened nation, acted their beſt plays for the increaſe of ſo reſpectable an eſtabliſhment. The theatres were never ſo much crouded as on this occaſion. A hundred of theſe ſhip boys, and a hundred of the ſailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be held facred, appeared upon the ſtage; a decoration this ſurely not inferior to that ariſing from the multitude of lights, the elegance of dreſs, and the brilliancy of jewels.

The Engliſh are rouſed from their lethargy, and ſeize the French and Spaniſh iſlands.

THIS public zeal and attachment to the intereſts of the nation, animated the minds of all the Engliſh, and the effects of it were diſplayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coaſts of their enemies; beat them every where by ſea; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Weſtphalia. They drove them out of North-America, Africa, and the Eaſt-Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became miniſter, all the expeditions of the nation, made in diſtant countries, had been unſucceſsful, and muſt neceſſarily have been ſo, becauſe they had been ill-concerted. He, on the contrary, planned ſuch prudent and uſeful deſigns; his preparations were conducted with ſo much foreſight and diſpatch; his means were ſo well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; he made ſuch a prudent choice of the perſons whom he intruſted with his deſigns;

* 1961. 17s. 6d.

ſigns; he eſtabliſhed ſuch harmony between the land and ſea forces, and raiſed the ſpirits of the Engliſh to ſuch a height, that his whole adminiſtration was a ſeries of conqueſts. His mind, ſtill ſuperior to this glory, made him deſpiſe the idle clamours of thoſe who cenſured his profuſions. He uſed to ſay with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *That victory was to be purchaſed by money, and that money muſt not be ſpared at the expence of victory.*

By ſuch a conduct, and ſuch principles, Mr. Pitt had at all times and in all places triumphed over the French. He purſued them to their moſt valuable iſlands, even to their ſugar plantations. Theſe poſſeſſions, ſo juſtly prized for their riches, were not, however, better ſecured. The fortifications that were erected there, were conſtructed without judgment, and were in a ruinous ſtate. Ever ſince the beginning of hoſtilities, all intercourſe between theſe great ſettlements and the mother country, had been at an end. They could neither receive ſubſiſtence from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings neceſſary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The maſters and the ſlaves, equally deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle deſtined for the works of huſbandry. If any rapacious navigators ever reached them, it was through ſo many dangers, that the coloniſts were obliged to pay for what they bought of theſe traders at a very advanced price, and to

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give them in exchange whatever they chose to take from them at the lowest. Though the colonists did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their assistance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother country, would induce them to make a vigorous defence against an enemy that might put an end to their distresses.

In this situation of affairs, ten ships of the line, some bomb-ketches, and frigates, with five thousand land forces, sailed from England, and arrived at Gaudalupe. They appeared before the town on the 22d of January, 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Basse-Terre. If the besiegers had known how to take advantage of the terror they had spread, the island would have made a very short resistance: but the slowness, timidity, and irresolution of their operations, afforded the garrison and the inhabitants leisure to fortify themselves in a pass that was at the distance of two leagues from the place. From this spot they stopped the progress of the enemy, who were equally distressed from the heat of the climate and the want of provisions. The English, despairing of making themselves masters of the colony on this side, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made still less resistance than that of Basse-Terre, that had surrendered in four and twenty hours. The conquerors were again guilty of the error they

they had before fallen into, and ſuffered the ſame inconveniencies from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who ſucceeded to the command at the death of Hopſon, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-imbarked his ſoldiers, who ſucceſſively attacked the houſes and villages upon the coaſts. The ravages they committed, obliged the colonies to ſubmit. The whole iſland, after three months defence, ſurrendered on the 21ſt day of April, upon very honourable terms of capitulation.

THE troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great Britain revived a deſign that had been too haſtily given up, but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, under the command of general Monckton, and eighteen ſhips of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, the firſt ſent from North America, and the latter from Europe, appeared before the capital of the iſland. The landing of the troops the next day was ſoon effected, without difficulty and without loſs. To take poſſeſſion of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, ſeemed to be a matter not ſo eaſily accompliſhed. Theſe obſtacles, however, were after ſome warm engagements ſurmounted, and the place that would ſoon have been

BOOK X. reduced to ashes by the bombs, capitulated on the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the same on the 13th. It is probable that the prosperity of Guadalupe under the British government, contributed to bring about this general surrender; which might and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada and the other Leeward islands, whether subject to France, or which though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral, surrendered themselves, without making any resistance.

Even St. Domingo, the only possession the French still retained in the Archipelago of America was likely to fall into the hands of the English; and its loss seemed to be not far distant. If it had not even been known that this was the first conquest Great-Britain would attempt, yet it could not be supposed that it would escape its avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of its own successes so far as to give up all thoughts of a conquest that would have completed its prosperity? This was a point that seemed not to admit of a doubt. The colony was generally known to be entirely without any means of defence, either within or without, and therefore incapable of making the least resistance. It was so sensible of its weakness, that it seemed disposed to surrender as soon as it should be summoned to do it.

The court of France was equally astonished and alarmed at the losses it had sustained, and at those it foresaw. It had expected such an obsti-

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nate reſiſtance as would have been ſuperior to every attack. The deſcendants of thoſe brave adventurers, who had ſettled theſe colonies, ſeemed a rampart ſufficient to repel all the forces of the Britiſh empire. They almoſt felt a ſecret ſatisfaction that the Engliſh were directing their efforts towards that quarter. The miniſtry had inſpired the nation with the ſame confidence that poſſeſſed them, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to ſhew the leaſt uneaſineſs.

It is an obſervation, we may now be permitted to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whoſe whole fortune conſiſts in fields and paſtures will, if influenced by any degree of ſpirit, reſolutely defend their poſſeſſions. The harveſt of one year is the utmoſt they can loſe, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not diſtreſs them to ſuch a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The caſe is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of theſe colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the riſque of having the labours of their whole lives deſtroyed, their ſlaves carried off, and all the hopes of their poſterity either loſt by fire or plunder: they will therefore, always ſubmit to the enemy. Though ſatisfied with the government under which they live, they are leſs attached to its glory than to their own riches.

The example of the firſt coloniſts, whoſe perſeverance could not be ſhaken by the moſt vigorous attacks,

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attacks, does not affect the truth of this observation. The object of the war was then the acquisition of territory, and the expulsion of the inhabitants; at present, a war waged against a colony, is directed only against the sovereign of it.

THE plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt; though he was not in the ministry when it was subdued. The resignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deserves to be considered by every one, who investigates the causes and effects of political revolutions. An historian, who ventures to write the transactions of his own age, hath seldom, it must be granted, sufficient lights to guide him. The councils of kings are so secret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that surrounds them. Their ministers, faithful depositaries of the secrets they have been intrusted with, or interested to conceal them, explain themselves no further than is sufficient to mislead the curious inquirer, who wishes to discover them. Whatever penetration he may possess, in tracing the source and connection of events, he is at last reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be just, still he is ignorant that they are so, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is scarcely more satisfactory than a total ignorance. He must, therefore, wait till prudence and interest, freed from the restraint of silence, shall unfold the truth; in a word, till some valuable and original records be produced for public inspection, wherein the latent springs

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on which the deſtiny of nations has depended, ſhall be diſcovered. BOOK X.

THESE reflections ſhould ſuſpend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progreſs of political intrigues. But we are deſirous of penetrating into the ſoul of one of the greateſt men of his age, and, perhaps, we can never do it with greater propriety. The moſt conſpicuous actions only of a man's life are tranſmitted to poſterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of ſimple and artleſs details, that enlighten the mind of an obſerver, who lived at the time they happened.

MR. PITT, after having reſcued England from the kind of diſgrace it had been expoſed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of ſucceſs that aſtoniſhed all the world. Whether he foreſaw this, or not, he did not ſeem to be embarraſſed with it, and reſolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation which ſo many ſtateſmen had affected before him, ſeemed to him to be only a pretence to conceal their weakneſs or their indolence. He thought that all ſtates ſhould exert their power to the utmoſt, and that there was no inſtance of one nation being able to become ſuperior to another and not effecting it. The parallel that he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived with uneaſineſs that the power of England founded upon a trade, which ſhe might and would loſe, was very inconſiderable, when compared with that

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BOOK X. of her rival; which nature, art, and particular circumſtances had raiſed to ſuch a degree of ſtrength, under favourable adminiſtrations, as had made all Europe tremble. Senſible of this truth, he, therefore, determined to deprive France of her colonies, and by confining her to the continent, diminiſh her importance, and reduce her to the ſtandard of other nations.

THE means neceſſary to complete this project which was ſo far advanced, appeared to him abſolutely certain. While the imagination of weak minds took ſhadows for realities, the greateſt difficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the nation, of which he was the idol, was ſometimes alarmed at his vaſt and uncommon enterpriſes, he was not in the leaſt diſquieted about them; becauſe, in his eyes, the multitude was like a torrent, whoſe courſe he knew how to direct which way he would.

PERFECTLY indifferent with regard to fortune, he was ſtill more ſo with regard to power. His ſucceſſes had made his adminiſtration abſolute. With the people he was a republican, with the nobles and the ſovereign he was a deſpotic miniſter. To think differently from him was a mark of being an enemy to the common cauſe.

HE availed himſelf of the ſuperiority he had gained, in order to excite the ardour of the people. Little influenced by that ſpecies of philoſophy, which, diveſting itſelf of the prejudices of national glory, to extend its views to the welfare of

all

all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of universal reason; he kept up a violent and savage spirit of enthusiasm, which he called, and, perhaps, believed, to be a love of his country; but which was, in reality, nothing more than a strong aversion for the nation he wanted to oppress. BOOK X.

France was as much discouraged by this spirit of inveteracy, that constantly pursued her, as by the distresses she had undergone. The diminution, the exhausted state, or, to say the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, afforded her a discouraging prospect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate success by land might occasion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their squadrons had destroyed one or several of those of her rival, the English would not have renounced any of their claims. This is one general rule; and another is, that whenever any power has acquired a very determined superiority at sea, it can never lose it in the course of the war; more particularly, if that superiority can be traced from a distant cause, and especially if it proceeds partly from the character of the nation. The superiority of one continent above another depends entirely on the abilities of a single man, and may be lost in a moment: on the contrary, superiority at sea, as it results from the vigilance and interest of each individual in the state, must always increase, particularly, when it is encouraged by national constitution: a sudden invasion can only put a stop to it.

No-

BOOK X.

NOTHING but a general confederacy could have reſtored the balance of power; the impoſſibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly ſaw. He knew the reſtraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Ruſſians, and the little regard that ſeveral of theſe powers paid to the intereſts of France. He was conſcious alſo of the terror which the Engliſh forces had ſpread among them all, the miſtruſt they entertained of each other, and the apprehenſion that each of them muſt have, that they ſhould be diſtreſſed before they could receive aſſiſtance.

THE affairs of Spain were particularly circumſtanced. The ravages that laid waſte the French colonies, and which every day increaſed, might eaſily extend to the ſettlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be ſenſible of the danger that threatened it, its uſual indolence accompanied it with regard to theſe great objects. At length, upon a change of miniſter, a new ſyſtem took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to extinguiſh the flame; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtineſs. Mr. Pitt, having deliberately conſidered the extent of his power, anſwered every propoſition that was made, in the following manner: *I will liſten to them*, ſaid he, *when you have taken the Tower of London ſword in hand.* This mode of expreſſion might diſguſt, but it was impoſing.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when the court of France thought herſelf obliged to make over-

overtures of peace to that of Great-Britain. Both courts were equally apprehenſive, and with good reaſon, that Mr. Pitt would oppoſe them. He conſented to enter into a negociation; but the event ſhewed, as ſenſible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His deſign was only to furniſh himſelf with ſufficient proofs of the engagements that the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon had entered into againſt Great-Britain, and to lay them before his country. As ſoon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negociation, and propoſed declaring war againſt Spain. The ſuperiority of the naval power of England above that of both theſe kingdoms, and the aſſurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inſpired him with this confidence.

Mr. Pitt's ſyſtem appeared to diſtinguiſhed politicians, the only important, and indeed, the only reaſonable one. The Engliſh nation had contracted ſuch a load of debt, that it could neither free itſelf from it, nor ſupport it, without opening to itſelf new ſources of opulence. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great-Britain had made her ſubmit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to diſable her oppreſſor from continuing them. The houſe of Bourbon could not but preſerve a ſtrong reſentment for the injuries it had ſuffered, and for the loſſes it had ſuſtained; it could not but make ſecret preparations, and gradually work up a ſpirit of revenge to which a combination of all

BOOK X. all its forces might insure success. These motives obliged Great-Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandize itself for its support. This cruel necessity was not so sensibly felt by the council of George the third as Mr. Pitt desired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakness or of infatuation, perhaps, of treachery; and he resigned his post, because he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

May we venture to form a conjecture? The English ministry plainly saw that there was no possibility of avoiding a fresh war; but equally tired out and disgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had assumed, they were desirous of restoring that spirit of equality which is the spring of a republican government. Despairing of being able to raise themselves upon a level with a man so highly esteemed, or of making him stoop to them, they united their forces to effect his ruin. As open attacks would only have turned against themselves, they had recourse to more artful methods. They attempted to sour his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to such a snare, and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt resigned his post through peevishness, he deserves to be censured for not having suppressed or mastered it. If he hoped by this expedient to humble his enemies, he shewed he had greater knowledge of affairs than of men. If, as he asserted, he resigned, because he would no longer be responsible for the measures he did not guide, we may be allowed to think that he was more strongly

ſtrongly attached to his own perſonal glory, than to the intereſts of his country. But whatever may have been the cauſe of his reſignation, nothing but the blindeſt, moſt unjuſt, and moſt violent partiality can venture to aſſert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

But however this may be, the firſt ſtep the new miniſtry took was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought neceſſary to declare war againſt Spain, and the Weſt Indies were to be the ſcene of theſe new hoſtilities. Experience had already diſcouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of ſenſe and underſtanding perceived that the taking of this iſland would not be attended with any apprehenſion of vengeance from the other colonies, that the empire of the gulph of Mexico would be ſecured; that the enemy, whoſe riches aroſe principally from the amount of its cuſtoms, would be deprived of all their reſources; that the whole commerce of the continent would be ſeized upon, and the inhabitants would chuſe rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than to give up thoſe commodities they had been uſed to receive from Europe; in a word, that the power of Spain would be ſo much reduced by this conſiderable loſs, that it would be obliged to ſubmit to any terms.

BOOK X. AGREEABLE to this idea, a fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about a hundred and fifty transports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North-America, set sail for the Havannah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to pass through the old streight of Bahama, not so long in extent, though more dangerous than the new one. The obstacles that were to be expected in this passage little known, and too little attended to, were successfully surmounted in a manner worthy the reputation that admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July he arrived at the place of his destination; and the landing of the troops was effected without any opposition, at the distance of six leagues eastward of those dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

THE operations by land, were not so well conducted as those by sea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commission he was intrusted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The single dry wall that covered it, could not have held out four and twenty hours. It is probable, that the generals, the council, and the regency, who must infallibly have fallen into his hands by this success which might so easily have been obtained, would have resolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would thus have prevented the fort from receiving any assistance or provisions that were supplied from the city during the

the ſiege, and have ſecured the moſt likely means to reduce it in a very ſhort time.

THE plan he purſued of beginning his operations by the attack of the Moro, expoſed him to great diſtreſſes. The water that was near him was unwholeſome, and he found himſelf under a neceſſity of procuring ſome at three leagues diſtance from his camp. As the ſloops that were ſent for this purpoſe might be attacked, it was thought neceſſary to poſt a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Aroſtigny, at a quarter of a league's diſtance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn or ſupported but by ſea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

ALBEMARLE, who might have judged of the diſpoſition of the enemy from their not moleſting the troops poſted at Aroſtigny, ſhould have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this ſtep he would have been able almoſt to ſurround it; he would moſt undoubtedly have diſtreſſed it by famine, prevented all removal of the effects into the country, and opened a leſs dangerous communication with Aroſtigny, than by the detachments he was conſtantly obliged to ſend, in order to ſupport this advanced body of troops.

THE ſiege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The ſoldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with bar-

BOOK X.

rels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for sacks of cotton, that were taken out of some merchant ships arrived from Jamaica. This want of foresight occasioned the loss of a great number of men, always of great value, but more especially so in a climate, where diseases and fatigues cause so great a consumption of them.

The English general, having lost a great part of his army, and finding the necessity, for want of troops, of reimbarking in a few days, determined to attempt storming the castle; but a large and deep ditch cut in the rock was first to be passed, and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

If the faults of the English were very considerable, those of the Spaniards were still greater. Though apprized above a month before that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not rouzed from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coasts, and they had made no provisions of balls of a proper size for their cannons, nor of cartridges; neither had they one single gun, or even a firelock fit to make use of.

The great number of officers of the land and sea service who were at the Havannah, occasioned, during some days of the siege, a great uncertainty in the resolutions that could not but be favourable to the besiegers.

Three ships of war were sunk, to stop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not pass. The road into the harbour was by this means

means damaged, and three great ſhips loſt to no purpoſe.



THE moſt common prudence would have ſuggeſted that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah ſhould have been got ready to ſail. They could not poſſibly be of any ſervice in defending the place, and it was a matter of ſome conſequence to ſave them. But this was neglected. Neither did the precaution occur of ſetting them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE deſtruction of the body of Engliſh troops poſted at Aroſtigny, where they could not receive any aſſiſtance, might have been eaſily effected. This check would have put the beſiegers to ſome difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their operations, and inſpired the Spaniſh forces with ſome degree of confidence. But far from making ſo eaſy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the Engliſh detachments, though compoſed entirely of infantry, and which might have been oppoſed by a regiment of dragoons and a great number of militia that were provided with horſes.

THE communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was ſcarce ever interrupted, and yet none of thoſe who had a ſhare in the adminiſtration, ever thought of conveying the

BOOK X. royal treasure into the inland parts, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE last instance of neglect served to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been left a piece of a rock terminating in a point, and standing by itself. The English placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterscarp. A serjeant, with fifteen men, passed over them at one in the afternoon; and concealed themselves among some stones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers and some soldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the space of an hour they got upon the breach, under no apprehension of being discovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Velasco, indeed, informed of what had happened, hastened to save the place; but he was killed in coming up, and his death putting the Spanish troops that followed him into confusion, they surrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a centinel to observe the motions of the enemy lodged upon the ditch, occasioned this event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into, for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole island. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itself, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five millions* of silver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified

* 1,968,750l.

demnified them for the expences of the expedition.



Advantages procured to Great Britain in the islands by the peace.

The loss of Cuba, the center of the power of Spain in the new world, made peace as necessary to the court of Madrid, as it could possibly be to that of Versailles, whose distresses were now brought to the highest pitch. The English ministry, at that time, consented to a peace; but it seemed a matter of much difficulty to settle the conditions. The successes of Great Britain had been astonishing in North and South America. But, however ambitious she might be, she could not flatter herself with the hopes of retaining all the conquests she had made. It was reasonable to suppose that she would give up the possessions she had gained in North America, as the advantages she might expect from them were distant, inconsiderable and uncertain; and that she would be content with reserving to herself the sugar colonies she had lately acquired, which the state of her finances seemed more particularly to require. The increase of her customs, that was a necessary consequence of such a system, would have procured her the best sinking fund that could have been imagined, and which must have been so much the more agreeable to the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others very considerable. It would, in the first place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable notwithstanding the faults it had committed, of

BOOK X. its richeſt branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken it, from its being under a neceſſity of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of its ſituation, muſt be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected its navy. Laſtly, it would have kept New England in a cloſer and more abſolute dependence on the mother country, a part of America that would always want to be ſupported againſt a reſtleſs, active and warlike neighbour.

But though the council of George the IIId ſhould have thought it neceſſary to reſtore to their enemies a bad country of the continent, and to reſerve the valuable iſlands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt ſo judicious a meaſure. In other countries the faults of the miniſters are imputed only to themſelves, or to their kings, who puniſh them for their miſconduct. In England, the errors of adminiſtration are generally the errors of the nation, who inſiſt upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

The Engliſh, who have complained of the terms of the laſt peace, when they have been ſhewn how far ſhort they fell of the advantages they expected from them, had, however in ſome meaſure, dictated thoſe very terms themſelves by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or during the war. The Canadians had committed ſome outrages, and the ſavages many acts of cruelty in the Engliſh colonies. The peaceable inhabi-

tants,

tants, terrified at the diſtreſſes they ſuffered, and more ſo at thoſe they feared, had cauſed their clamours to be heard even in Europe. Their correſpondents, intereſted to obtain them a ſpeedy and powerful redreſs, had aggravated their complaints. Thoſe writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumſtance, that can render the French odious, had loaded them with every ſpecies of invective. The people, exaſperated by the report of the ſhocking ſcenes that were perpetually preſented to its imagination, wiſhed to ſee a ſtop put to theſe barbarities.



On the other hand, the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies, ſatisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wiſhing the conqueſt of their neighbours ſettlements, they rather dreaded it, conſidering it as deſtructive to themſelves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the Engliſh, that no competition could poſſibly have taken place. Their allies were of the ſame opinion, and followed the example of their moderation.

The conſequence of ſo contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the ſugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. The miniſtry, which, in England, can never ſupport its authority againſt the people, or, at leaſt, cannot long maintain itſelf ſucceſsfully againſt its general

BOOK X. neral odium, turned all their views to this object, and found France and Spain readily disposed to adopt such a system. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the English all their former possessions, from the river of St. Lawrence up to the Mississippi. Besides this, France ceded the islands of Granada and Tobago, and consented that the English should keep the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica, that had been considered as neutral, provided that, on her part, she might appropriate St. Lucia to herself. On these conditions, the conquerors restored to the allied powers all the conquests they had made in America.

FROM this time England lost the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of seizing all the avenues and making itself master of the sources of all the wealth of the new world. Mexico was in its power, as the English only were in possession of the gulph that opens the way to it. This valuable continent must, therefore, soon have become their property. It might have been allured, either by the offers of an easier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been invited to shake off the yoke of the mother country, which only took up arms to distress its colonies, and not to protect them; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enslaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and

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the Engliſh more free and more equitable than other monarchical powers, could not but be benefited by reſcuing the human race from the oppreſſions they ſuffered in the new world, and by removing the injuries this oppreſſion has occaſioned to Europe in particular.

All thoſe ſubjects, who are victims of the ſeverity, exactions, oppreſſion and deceit of arbitrary governments; all thoſe families that are ruined by the raiſing of ſoldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loans for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, inſtead of obeying and becoming ſubject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in thoſe countries. Theſe, as well as a multitude of workmen, without employment; of huſbandmen without land; of men of ſcience without any occupation; and numbers of diſtreſſed and unfortunate perſons, would have fled into theſe regions, which require only juſt and civilized inhabitants, to render them happy. Above all, the peaſants of the north, ſlaves to the nobility who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there: thoſe Ruſſian peaſants, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, inſtead of cultivating and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly have been loſt in theſe tranſmigrations through extenſive ſeas, into new climates; but this would have been an infinitely leſs evil than that of a tyranny, working by ſlow and artful means, and ſacrificing ſo many

BOOK X. many people to the wills of a small number of men. In a word, the English would be much more gloriously employed in supporting and favouring so happy a revolution, than in tormenting themselves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour by every method to undermine and destroy.

THIS is a wish which, though founded on justice and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itself, as it leaves nothing but regret in the mind of him that formed it. Must then the desires of the virtuous man for the prosperity of the world, be for ever lost, while those of the ambitious and extravagant are so often favoured by casual events?

SINCE war has been the cause of so much evil, why does it not run through every species of calamity that it may, at length, tend to procure some good. But what has been the consequence of the last war, one of those that has been the most distressful to the human race? It has occasioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe; and has cost Europe alone above a million of its inhabitants. Those who were not its victims, are now distressed by it, and their posterity will long be oppressed under the weight of the enormous taxes it has given rise to. The nation, whom victory attended in all parts, still feels the wounds by which its triumphs were obtained. Its public debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres *, arose, at the con-

* 70,747,558l. 17s. 6d.

conclusion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres*, for which it must pay an interest of 111,577,490 livres †. BOOK X.

But it is time to quit the subject of war. Let us now proceed to consider by what means the nations, who have divided the great Archipelago of America, that has been the origin of so many quarrels and negociations, and has given rise to so many reflections, have been able to raise it to a degree of opulence, that may, without exaggeration, be considered as the first cause of all the great events that at present disturb the peace of the globe.

* 145,687,500l. † 4,881,515l. 3s. 9d.

End of the Tenth Book.

BOOK

# BOOK XI.

*The Europeans go into Africa to purchaſe ſlaves to cultivate the Caribbee iſlands. The manner of conducting this ſpecies of commerce. Produce ariſing from the labour of the ſlaves.*

BOOK XI.

CERTAIN reſtleſs fugitives, the greateſt part of whom had either been diſgraced by the laws of their country, or ruined by their exceſſes; in this ſtate of deſperation, formed a deſign of attacking Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſhips that were richly laden with the ſpoils of the new world. Some deſert iſlands, whoſe ſituation inſured ſucceſs to theſe piracies, ſerved at firſt for a place of rendezvous to theſe robbers, and ſoon became their country. Habituated to murder, they meditated the maſſacre of a plain and unſuſpecting people, who had received and treated them with humanity; and the civilized nations, of which theſe Buccaneers were the refuſe, adopted this infamous ſcheme without

without hesitation; which was immediately put in execution. It then became necessary to consider what advantages might accrue from so many enormities. Gold and silver, which were still looked upon as the sole valuable productions to be derived from America, had either never existed in several of these new acquisitions, or were no longer to be found there in sufficient quantities to expect any considerable emoluments from working the mines. Certain speculative men, less blinded by their prejudices than the multitude generally are, imagined, that a soil and climate, so totally different from ours, might either furnish us with commodities to which we were strangers, or which we were obliged to purchase at an exorbitant price: they, therefore, determined to apply themselves to the culture of them. There were some obstacles, apparently insurmountable to the execution of this plan. The ancient inhabitants of the country were now entirely destroyed, and had they not been so, the weakness of their constitutions, their habit of ease and indolence, and their invincible aversion from labour, would scarcely have rendered them fit instruments to execute the designs of their oppressors. These barbarians too, born in a temperate clime, could not support laborious works of agriculture under a burning and unwholesome sky. Self-interest, ever fruitful in expedients, devised the plan of seeking cultivators in Africa, a country in which the abominable and inhuman custom of selling its inhabitants hath ever prevailed.

AFRICA

BOOK XI.

The Europeans go into Africa, in search of cultivators.

AFRICA is an immenſe region, connected to Aſia only by a narrow neck of land of twenty leagues, called the iſthmus of Suez. This natural and political boundary, muſt ſooner or later be broken down by the ocean, from that tendency it is obſerved to have of forming gulphs and ſtraits eaſtward. This great peninſula, cut by the equator into two unequal parts, forms an irregular triangle, one of whoſe ſides fronts the eaſt, the other the north, and the third the weſt.

Opinions concerning the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

THE eaſtern ſide, which extends from Suez as far as the Cape of Good Hope, is waſhed by the Red Sea and the ocean. The interior parts of the country are but little known, and what has been diſcovered of them, can neither excite the mercenary views of the trader, the curioſity of the traveller, nor the humanity of the philoſopher. Even the miſſionaries, after having made ſome progreſs in theſe countries, eſpecially in Abyſſinia, totally diſcouraged by the treatment they met with, have abandoned theſe people to their inconſtancy and perfidy. The coaſts are in general only dreadful rocks, or a waſte of dry and burning ſand. Thoſe portions, which are fit for cultivation, are parcelled out among the natives of the country, the Arabs, the Portugueſe and the Dutch. Their commerce, which conſiſts only in a little ivory or gold, and ſome ſlaves, is connected with that of the Eaſt-Indies.

Opinions concerning the northern coaſt of Africa.

THE northern ſide, which extends from the iſthmus of Suez to the ſtraits of Gibraltar, is bounded

bounded by the Mediterranean. On this ſide, nine hundred leagues of coaſt are occupied by Egypt, and by the country, which has for ſeveral centuries been known by the name of Barbary.

EGYPT, which was the nurſery of arts and ſciences, of commerce and government, offers nothing that can recall to the remembrance of the learned the idea of its former greatneſs. Bending under the yoke of deſpotiſm, which the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the Turks have impoſed on her, the ſole intercourſe ſhe ſeems to have with foreign nations by the ports of Damietta and of Alexandria, ſerves only to render them witneſſes of her total declenſion and ruin.

THE fate of ancient Lybia, now Barbary, is no leſs wonderful. The early periods of this extenſive country are involved in the greateſt obſcurity; nor was any light thrown upon their hiſtory till the arrival of the Carthaginians. Theſe merchants, originally of Phœnician extraction, about a hundred and thirty-ſeven years before the foundation of Rome, built a city, whoſe territory, at firſt, very limitted, in proceſs of time, extended to all that country, known by the name of the kingdom of Tunis, and afterwards much further. Spain, and the greateſt part of the iſlands in the Mediterranean fell under its dominion. Many other kingdoms muſt apparently have ſerved to aggrandize this enormous power, when her ambitious views interfered with thoſe of Rome. At the time of this dreadful colliſion, a war between

BOOK XI. these two nations was instantly kindled, and carried on with such obstinacy and fury, that it was easy to foresee it would not terminate, but in the utter destruction of the one or the other. Rome, which was now in the height of its republican and patriotic principles, after many stubborn engagements in which the greatest military skill was displayed, obtained a decisive superiority over that which was corrupted by its riches. The commercial people became the slaves of the warlike power.

The conquerors maintained themselves in the possession of their conquests, till about the middle of the Vth century. The Vandals, then hurried on by their original impetuosity beyond the limits of Spain, of which they were masters, passed the pillars of Hercules, and, like an inundation, diffused themselves over the country of Lybia. These barbarians would certainly have preserved the advantages they had acquired by their irruptions, if they had kept up that military spirit which their king Genseric had inspired them with. But with this barbarian, who was not destitute of genius, this spirit became extinct; military discipline was relaxed, and the government which rested only on this basis, was overthrown. Belisarius surprised these people in this confusion, extirpated them, and re-established the empire in its ancient privileges. But this revolution was only momentary. Great men, who can form and bring to ma-

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turity a rising nation, cannot impart youth and vigour to an ancient and decayed people.

In the VIIth century, the Saracens, formidable in their institutions and their success, armed with the sword and with the coran, obliged the Romans, weakened by their divisions, to repass the seas, and augmented with the accession of the northern part of Africa, that vast dominion Mohammed had just founded with so much glory. The lieutenants of the Caliphs afterwards deprived their masters of these rich spoils, and erected the provinces intrusted to their care, and independent states.

Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of the XVIth century, when the Mohammedans of Algiers, who were afraid of falling under the yoke of Spain, invited the Turks to their assistance. The Porte sent Barbarossa, who at first protected, but in the end enslaved them. The Bassas, who succeeded him, and were the governors of Tunis and Tripoli, cities that were both equally conquered and oppressed, exercised a tyranny, which very fortunately was carried to such a height, that from its excess it must necessarily terminate in its own destruction; and the same violent measures that supported it, were exerted in delivering the people from it. One circumstance, however, is worthy of observation, that the three states adopted the same kind of government, which is a species of aristocracy. The chief, who under the title of Dey, governs the republic, is elected by the soldiers,

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who are always Turkiſh, and conſtitute the only nobility of the country. Theſe elections are ſeldom made without bloodſhed, and it is no unuſual thing for a man, who has been elected in the midſt of riot and ſlaughter, to be afterwards aſſaſſinated by a reſtleſs faction, who deſign either to ſecure that diſtinction for themſelves, or to ſell it for their advancement. The empire of Morocco, which has ſucceſſively ſwallowed up the kingdoms of Fez, of Tafilet, and of Sus, becauſe it is hereditary in a national family, is, however, ſubjected to the ſame revolutions. The atrocious diſpoſitions of the princes and the people are the primary cauſe of this inſtability.

THE interior parts of Barbary are full of Arabs, who are what men in the primitive ages muſt have been, ſhepherds in a wandering and unſettled ſtate. Cuſtoms, which are diſguſtful to our effeminate manners, are conſidered by them as great, or ſimple as nature by which they are dictated. When the moſt illuſtrious among the Arabians intend to receive a ſtranger with marks of diſtinction, they go themſelves in ſearch of the choiceſt lamb of their flocks, flay it with their own hands, and like the patriarchs of Moſes, or the heroes of Homer, cut it in pieces, while their wives are occupied in the other preparations of the feaſt. The children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed men among them, even of Scheiks and Emirs, tend the family flocks. The girls and boys have no other employment during their tender years.

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THESE are not the happy manners of thoſe who live in towns or inhabit the ſea ſhore. Equally averſe from the toils of agriculture and from the more ſedentary arts, they are become pirates. At firſt, they contented themſelves with ravaging the vaſt and fertile plains of Spain. They ſurpriſed the indolent inhabitants of the rich countries of Valencia, Granada and Andaluſia, while they were aſleep, and carried them off for ſlaves. Afterwards, diſdaining the booty they acquired from countries they had formerly cultivated, they built large veſſels, and inſulted the flags of all nations. Theſe naval equipments, which were gradually improved into little ſquadrons, received an annual acceſſion, by means of the avarice of great numbers of chriſtians, who furniſhed the people of Barbary with materials for their armaments, who intereſted themſelves in their cruiſes, and who ſometimes even ventured to direct their operations. Theſe pirates have reduced the greateſt powers of Europe to the diſgrace of making them annual preſents, which, under whatever name they are diſguiſed, are in reality a tribute. They have ſometimes been puniſhed and humbled; but their plunders have never been totally ſuppreſſed.

CHARLES the Vth, though always buſy in exciting commotions during the age in which he lived, would ſometimes penetrate into futurity, by that foreſight which atones, in ſome degree, for the faults of a turbulent ſpirit, and ſaw what the people of Barbary might one day be-

BOOK XI. come. Diſdaining to enter into any kind of treaty with them, he formed the generous plan of deſtroying them. The rivalry of Francis the 1ſt made his project miſcarry; and ſince his time hiſtory has had no opportunity of celebrating any prince for reſuming the idea of ſo glorious an enterpriſe, the execution of which would, however, be attended with no great difficulty.

THE inhabitants of Barbary groan under a yoke of which they are impatient. The tyrant of Morocco inſolently ſports with the liberties and lives of his ſubjects. This deſpotic ſovereign, an executioner in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, every day expoſes on the walls of his palace, or his capital, the heads of the innocent or the guilty whom he has ſlaughtered with his own hand. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, though exempt from a like ferocity, are, however, under a ſevere ſubjection. Slaves to fifteen or twenty thouſand Turks, who have been choſen out from among the dregs of the Ottoman empire, they become in a variety of ways the victims of this brutal ſoldiery. An authority reſting on ſo unſteady a baſis, cannot poſſibly be firmly eſtabliſhed, and might be eaſily ſubverted.

No foreign ſuccour would retard its fall for a moment. The only power that might be ſuſpected of wiſhing its preſervation, namely the Ottoman empire, is not ſo highly gratified with the vain title of protector, which it confers on it, as to intereſt itſelf warmly in their ſafety. All endeavours

deavours to excite the Turks to interfere, by sub- BOOK missions, which particular circumstances might, XI. probably extort from these plunderers, would certainly be ineffectual. Their intreaties would not impart strength. For these two centuries past, the Porte has no navy, and its military power is continually decaying.

But to what people is reserved the glory of breaking those fetters which Africa is thus insensibly preparing for us, and of removing those terrors, which are so formidable to navagation? No nation can attempt it alone; perhaps, if it did, the jealousy of the rest would throw secret obstacles in its way. This must, therefore, be the work of a general combination. All the maritime powers must concur in the execution of a design, in which all are equally interested. These states, which every thing invites to mutual alliance, to mutual good-will, to mutual defence, ought to be weary of the calamities which they reciprocally bring upon each other. After having so frequently united for their mutual destruction, let them at length take up arms for their preservation. War for once, at least, will then become useful and just.

One may venture to assert, that such a war would be of no long continuance, if it were conducted with skill and unanimity. Each member of the confederacy, attacking at the same time the enemy it had to reduce, would experience but a weak resistance, or, perhaps, none. The people of Barbary, being thus suddenly deprived of all

BOOK XI. power of defending themſelves, would undoubtedly abandon their governors, and relinquiſh the government by which they have been conſtantly oppreſſed. Perhaps this nobleſt and greateſt of enterpriſes would coſt Europe leſs blood and treaſure, than the moſt trivial of thoſe quarrels with which it is continually agitated.

No man would do the politicians who ſhould form this plan the injuſtice to ſuppoſe, that they would confine their ambition to the filling up of roads, demoliſhing of forts, and ravaging of coaſts. Such narrow notions would be inconſiſtent with the preſent improvements of reaſon. The countries ſubdued, would remain to the conquerors, and each of the allies would acquire poſſeſſions, proportionate to the aſſiſtance they had given to the common cauſe. Theſe conqueſts would become ſo much the more ſecure, as the happineſs of the vanquiſhed would be the conſequence of them. This race of pirates, theſe ſea monſters, would be changed into men by ſalutary laws, and examples of humanity. The progreſs they would gradually make, by the knowledge we ſhould impart to them, would in time diſpel that fanaticiſm which ignorance and miſery have kept up in their minds. They would ever recollect with gratitude the memorable æra which had brought us to their ſhores.

We ſhould no longer ſee them leave a country uncultivated, which was formerly ſo fertile. Corn and various fruits would ſoon cover this immenſe

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tract of land. These productions would be bartered for the works of our industry and of our manufactures. European traders settled in Africa, would become the factors of this trade, which would prove of mutual advantage to both countries. A communication so natural, between opposite coasts, and between people who have a necessary intercourse with each other, would, as it were, extend the boundaries of the world. This new kind of conquest which presents itself to us, would amply compensate for those, which during so many centuries, have contributed to the distress of mankind.

The jealousy of the great maritime powers, who have obstinately rejected all expedients to re-establish tranquillity on our seas, hath been the chief impediment to so important a revolution. The hope of checking the industry of every weak state, hath accustomed them to wish, that these piracies of Barbary should continue, and hath even induced them to encourage these plunders. This is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would never have incurred, if their understanding had equalled their mercenary views. All nations would certainly profit from this happy change; but the greatest advantages would infallibly redound to the maritime states, in proportion to their power. Their situation, the safety of their navigation, the greatness of their capital, and various other means, would secure them this superiority. They are constantly complaining of the shackles which national

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national envy, the folly of reſtraints and prohibitions, and the confined idea of excluſive traffic, have impoſed upon their activity. The people gradually become as much ſtrangers to one another as they were in the barbarous ages. The void, which this want of communication neceſſarily occaſions, would be filled up, if Africa were brought to have wants and reſources to ſatisfy them. The ſpirit of commerce would have a new career opened to its exertion.

However, if the reduction and ſubjection of Barbary would not become a ſource of happineſs for them as well as for ourſelves; if we are reſolved not to treat them as brethren; if we wiſh not to conſider them as our friends; if we muſt keep up and perpetuate ſlavery and poverty amongſt them; if fanaticiſm can ſtill renew thoſe deteſtable cruſades, which philoſophy too late has conſigned to the indignation of all ages; if Africa muſt at length become the ſcene of our cruelties, as Aſia and America have been, and ſtill are; may the project which humanity hath now dictated to us, for the good of our fellow-creatures, be buried in perpetual oblivion! Let us remain in our ports. It is indifferent, whether they be Chriſtians or Muſſulmen who ſuffer. Man is the only object worthy to intereſt man.

Do we hope to accuſtom the Africans to commerce, by the ſlow and gentle expedients of treaties, which muſt often be renewed, when they are obliged to be purchaſed every time? To be aſſured of

of the contrary, it is only neceſſary to take a tranſient view of the preſent ſtate of the Europeans with regard to theſe people. BOOK XI.

The French have never trafficked with Morocco, but have always been in a ſtate of war with it. The Engliſh, Dutch, and Swedes, diſguſted by the repeated inſults they have received, never appear there but occaſionally. The whole commerce is almoſt entirely in the hands of Denmark, which hath committed the management of it to a company, formed upon a capital of five hundred ſhares of five hundred crowns each.* It was eſtabliſhed in 1755, and it is to continue forty years. It imports Engliſh cloth, ſilver tiſſues, and ſilks: ſome linens, planks, iron, tar, and ſulphur; and brings in exchange, copper, gums, wool, wax, and leather. Theſe exchanges are made at Sally, Tetuan, Mongador, Safia, and Santa-Cruz. One may judge of the extent of this commerce by the profits of the cuſtoms farmed out, which they are for 255,000 livres †.

The trade of Algiers is not ſo conſiderable. The Engliſh, French, and Jews of Leghorn, are rivals in it. The two firſt ſend in their own veſſels, and the laſt under a neutral flag, cloth, ſpice, paper, hardware, coffee, ſugar, linens, alum, indigo, and cochineal; and receive in exchange, wool, wax, feathers, leather, oil, and ſeveral goods ariſing from captures. The returns, though they amount to a fourth more than the out-goings, do not

* 65l. 12s. 6d. † 11,156l. 5s.

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not annually exceed a million of livres.* France has one half, and her rivals nearly divide the reſt.

INDEPENDENT of this commerce, which is totally carried on by the capital, there is ſome traffic at Callua, Bona, and Collou, three other ports of the republic. This trade would have been extended and improved, if it had not been ſubjected to a monopoly and that too a foreign one. Ancient treaties, which have been generally obſerved, have yielded this vaſt coaſt to an excluſive company eſtabliſhed at Marſeilles. Its capital is twelve hundred thouſand livres †, and its annual traffic in merchandiſe, which may amount to eight or nine hundred thouſand ‡, employs thirty or forty ſhips. It purchaſes corn, wool, coral, and leather, with ſpecie.

TUNIS may receive two millions § in foreign merchandiſe, and ſells its own for two millions five hundred thouſand livres ‖. The French engroſs two thirds of this traffic, and the Tuſcans the reſt. This commerce is ſupported and carried on nearly in the ſame manner as every traffic in other ſtates of Barbary.

THE trade carried on at Tripoli is the leaſt conſiderable. The country is ſo wretched, that nothing can be imported thither but ſome hardware of little value. The exports of wool, ſenna, aſhes, wax, and pulſe, are ſcarce worth notice. But though this coaſt is of ſmall advantage to commerce,

* 43,750l. † 52,500l. ‡ About 37,000l. on an average. § 87,500l. ‖ 109,375l.

merce, by the little it can furniſh; and though it is detrimental to it by the piracies that are exerciſed there, the weſtern coaſt of Africa fully compenſates theſe loſſes by the benefits it procures to the American colonies.

Climate of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, known by the name of the coaſt of Guinea.

THE coaſt of this immenſe country extends from the ſtraits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. All its inhabitants are black. The cauſe of this ſingularity has been the ſubject of much inquiry, which hath given riſe to a variety of ſyſtems. Some have abſurdly ſuppoſed, that the negroes being the deſcendents of Cain, have had this mark of infamy ſtamped upon them, as a puniſhment for the fratricide of their anceſtor. If it were ſo, it muſt be allowed, that his poſterity have made a ſevere atonement for his crime; and that the deſcendents of the pacific Abel, have thoroughly avenged the blood of their innocent father.

BUT waving the diſcuſſion of ſuch ridiculous fancies, let us inquire whether it is poſſible that the negroes ſhould derive their colour from the climate they inhabit? Some philoſophers and eminent naturaliſts are of this opinion. There are no negroes, ſay they, but in the hotteſt countries. Their colour becomes darker, the nearer they approach to the equator. It becomes lighter or more bright at the extremities of the torrid zone. The whole human ſpecies in general contract whiteneſs from the ſnow, and grow tanned in the ſun. Various ſhades may be obſerved from white to black, and from black to white, marked out as

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it were by the parallel degrees which cut the earth from the equator to the poles. If the zones, imagined by the inventors of the ſphere, were repreſented by real bands, one might perceive the jetty colour of the natives inſenſibly decreaſe to the right and left as far as the two tropics; from thence the brown colour of the inhabitants grow paler and brighter to the polar circles, by ſhades of white, becoming more and more brilliant. But it is ſomewhat remarkable, that nature, which hath laviſhed the brightneſs of the moſt beautiful colours on the ſkin and plumage of animals, and on vegetables and metals, ſhould, properly ſpeaking, have left men without colour, ſince black and white are nothing but the beginning and abſence of all colours.

WHATEVER be the original and radical cauſe of that variety of complexion in the human ſpecies, it is agreed, that this complexion is owing to a gelatinous ſubſtance that is lodged between the cuticle and the ſkin. This ſubſtance is blackiſh in negroes, brown in olive coloured or ſwarthy people, white in Europeans, and diverſified with reddiſh ſpots in people who have extremely light or red hair.

ANATOMY hath diſcovered, that in negroes the ſubſtance of the brain is blackiſh, that the pineal gland is entirely black, and their blood is of a much deeper red than that of white people. Their ſkin is always hotter, and their pulſe quicker. The paſſions, therefore, of fear and love, are carried

ried to excefs among thefe people; and this is the reafon why they are more effeminate, more indolent, more weak, and unhappily more fit for flavery. Befides, their intellectual faculties being nearly exhaufted by the exceffes of fenfual pleafures, they have neither memory nor underftanding to fupply by art the deficiency of their ftrength. Their hair, it is faid, is curled, becaufe, having to penetrate through a net-work of a more denfe and tenacious fubftance, it becomes twifted, and cannot be lengthened out. The fweat of the negroes diffufes a ftrong and difagreeable odour, becaufe it is impregnated with that thick and rancid greafe which hath been long lodged, and flowly oozes out between the cuticle and the fkin. This fubftance is fo palpable, that one may diftinguifh in it with a microfcope a fediment formed in little blackifh globules. Hence the perfpiration of a negro, when it is copious, tinges the linnen cloth which wipes it off. One of the inconveniences of this black colour, an emblem of the night which confounds all objects, is, that the negroes have been obliged, in order to be known at a diftance, to flafh themfelves, and mark their fkins with different colours. This cuftom is general, efpecially among the wandering tribes of this people. As we find it, however, eftablifhed among the favages of Tartary and Canada, it may be doubtful whether the practice does not rather arife from the roving way of life, than from the nature of their complexion.

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ANATOMY hath gone further, and discovered the origin of the blackness of negroes in the principles of generation. Nothing more it should seem would be necessary to prove, that negroes are a particular species of men. For if any thing discriminates the species, or the classes in each species, it is certainly the difference of the semen. The colour of the negroes is, therefore, falsely supposed to be owing to the climate, since in Africa, under the same parallels, the eastern coast has no negroes, and even produces white people; and that in America the heat of the sun, and nature of the soil have never produced any negroes.

THOUGH it should be allowed, that the western coast of Africa is the hottest region of the whole globe, the only inference to be deduced from this, would be, that there are climates proper only to certain species, or certain species adapted to particular climates; but not that the difference of climates would change the same species from white to black. The sun has not the power of altering and modifying the germina of reproduction. White people never become black in Africa, nor negroes white in America. An union, indeed, between the sexes of these two species, produces the mestees, who partake equally of the colour, features, and complexion of both. If man were originally white, it must be supposed, that having been created nearer to the frigid than to the torrid zone, he peopled the earth successively from the poles to the equator: while, on the contrary, the fertility of

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the globe between the tropics, is a preſumption, that it has been peopled from the equator to the poles.



THE climate inhabited by the negroes, exhibits no palpable variations but ſuch as may be occaſioned by ſands or moraſſes. The almoſt inſupportable heat of their days, is ſucceeded by very cool and refreſhing nights, with this difference only, that they are leſs ſo in the rainy ſeaſons than in the times of drought. The dew, leſs profuſe under a cloudy ſky than under a ſerene horizon, is undoubtedly the cauſe of this ſingularity.

Soil of Guinea.

FROM the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, as far as Senegal, the land is entirely barren. Some Arabs, the deſcendants of thoſe who conquered Barbary, and ſome Moors, the ancient inhabitants of the country, lead a miſerable wandering life amidſt thoſe burning and dry ſands, which are finally loſt in the vaſt ſolitudes of Sahara.

THE banks of the Niger, Gambia, and Sierra Leona, and thoſe of ſome leſs conſiderable rivers, which, flow in that long ſpace that intervenes between theſe principal rivers, exhibit proofs of the greateſt fertility. Maize grows there without much cultivation, as well as all the fruits that are natural to America: and the care of flocks conſtitutes almoſt the ſole employment of the inhabitants. They are fond of mare's milk, which is their principal nouriſhment, and travel but little; becauſe they have no wants to induce them to leave their country.

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THE inhabitants of Cape Monte environed on every ſide by ſands, form a nation entirely ſeparated from the reſt of Africa. In the rice of their marſhes conſiſts all their nouriſhment and their ſole riches. Of this they ſell a ſmall quantity to the Europeans, for which they receive in exchange brandy and hard-ware.

FROM the Cape of Palmas to the river Volta, the inhabitants are traders and huſbandmen. They are huſbandmen, becauſe their land, though ſtony, abundantly requites the neceſſary labour and expence of clearing it. They are traders, becauſe they have behind them nations which furniſh them with gold, copper, ivory, and ſlaves; and becauſe nothing obſtructs a continued communication between the people of the country and thoſe of the coaſt. It is the ſole country in Africa, where, in a long ſpace there are no deſerts or deep rivers to obſtruct the traveller, and where water and the means of ſubſiſtence may be found.

BETWEEN the river of Volta and that of Calbary, the coaſt is flat, fertile, populous and cultivated. The country which extends from Calbary to Gabon is very different. Almoſt totally covered with thick foreſts, producing little fruit and no corn, it may be ſaid to be rather inhabited by wild beaſts than by men. Though the rains are there very frequent and copious, as they muſt be under the Equator, the land is ſo ſandy, that immediately after the ſhowers are fallen, there remains not the leaſt appearance of moiſture.

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To the ſouth of the line, and as far as Zara, the coaſt preſents an agreeable proſpect. Low at its beginning, it gradually riſes, and exhibits a ſcene of cultivated fields, intermixed with woods, always verdant, and of meadows covered with palm-trees.

From Zara to Coanza, and ſtill further, the coaſt is in general high and craggy. In the interior parts of this country is an elevated plain, the ſoil of which is compoſed of a large, thick and fertile ſand.

A little beyond Coanza a barren region intervenes, of above two hundred leagues in extent, which is terminated by the country of the Hottentots. In this long ſpace, there are no inhabitants known except the Cimbebes, with whom no intercourſe is kept up.

The varieties, obſervable on the ſhores of the weſt of Africa, do not prevent them from enjoying a very extraordinary, and, perhaps, a ſingular advantage. On this immenſe coaſt, thoſe tremendous rocks are no where ſeen, which are ſo alarming to the navigator. The ſea is univerſally calm, the wind regular, and the anchorage ſecure. Several excellent havens are here to be met with, where the mariner unmoleſted may purſue the labours which the refitting of large ſhips require.

The winds and currents, during ſix months of the year, from April to November, have nearly the ſame direction. To the ſouth of the line, the

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south-east wind predominates, and the direction of the currents is towards the north; and to the north of the line, the east wind prevails, and the direction of the currents is towards the north-east. During the six other months, storms, by intervals, change the direction of the wind, but it no longer blows with the same violence: the spring of the air seems to be relaxed. The cause of this variation appears to influence the direction of the currents: to the north of the line, they tend to the south-west, beyond the line to the south.

Government, policy, wars, religion, and manners of the coast of Guinea.

VAGUE conjectures can only be formed with regard to every thing which respects the interior parts of Africa; but it is a fact well authenticated, that throughout the whole extent of the coast the government is arbitrary. Whether the despotic sovereign ascends the throne by right of birth, or by election, the people have no other law but his will.

BUT what will seem extraordinary to the inhabitants of Europe, where the great number of hereditary monarchies obstructs the tranquillity of elective governments, and the prosperity of all free states, is, that in Africa, the countries which are least liable to revolutions, are those, which have preserved the right of electing their chiefs. This is usually an old man, whose wisdom is generally known. The manner, in which this choice is made, is very simple; but it is only suited to very small states. In three days the people, by mutual consent, meet at the house of that citizen who appears

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to them the moſt proper perſon to be their ſovereign. If the ſuffrages are divided, he who has obtained the greateſt number of them, names on the fourth day one of thoſe who have had fewer voices than himſelf. Every freeman hath a right to vote. There are even ſome tribes where the women enjoy this privilege.

Such is, excepting the hereditary kingdoms of Benin and Juda, the manner in which that little group of ſtates that are to the north of the line, is formed. To the ſouth we meet with Mayumba and Cilingo, where chiefs are admitted among the miniſters of religion; and with the empires of Loango and Congo, where the crown is perpetual in the male line, by the female ſide; that is, the eldeſt ſon of the king's eldeſt ſiſter inherits the throne, when it becomes vacant. Theſe people believe, that a child is much more certainly the ſon of his mother, than of the man whom ſhe marries: they truſt rather to the time of delivery which they ſee, than to that of conception, of which they are not witneſſes.

These nations live in a total ignorance of that art ſo revered among us, under the name of politics. They do not, however, neglect to obſerve ſome of its formalities. The cuſtom of ſending embaſſies is familiar to them, whether to ſollicit aid againſt a powerful enemy, or to requeſt a mediator in their differences, or to congratulate others upon their ſucceſſes, upon the birth of a child, or upon the falling of a ſhower after a great drought.

BOOK XI. The envoy muſt never ſtay longer than a day at the place of his miſſion; nor travel during the night in the ſtates of a foreign prince. He is preceded by a drum, which announces from afar his dignity, and he is accompanied by five or ſix friends. In thoſe places where he ſtops to refreſh himſelf, he is received with reſpect; but he cannot depart before the ſun riſes, and without the ceremony of his hoſt aſſembling ſome perſons to witneſs that no accident hath happened to him. In other reſpects, theſe people are ſtrangers to any negociations that are in the leaſt complicated. They never enter into any ſtipulations for the paſt, nor for the future; but confine themſelves wholly to the preſent. Hence we may conclude, that theſe nations cannot have regular or ſettled connections with the other parts of the globe.

THEIR ſyſtem of war is as little complicated as their politics. None of theſe governments retain troops in pay. Every freeman is by condition a ſoldier. All take up arms to guard their frontiers, or to make excurſions in queſt of booty. The officers are choſen by the ſoldiers, and the choice is confirmed by the prince. The army marches, and moſt frequently the hoſtilities, which are begun in the morning, are terminated in the evening. At leaſt, the incurſion never continues for any length of time; for as they have no magazines, the want of ſubſiſtence obliges them to retire. It would prove a great misfortune to theſe people,

people, if they were acquainted with the art of keeping the field fifteen days together.

The desire of extending their territories is not the cause of the disturbances which frequently throw these countries into confusion. An insult committed in a ceremony, a clandestine or violent robbery, the rape of a daughter; these are the ordinary occasions of a war. The day after the battle, each side redeems their respective prisoners. They are exchanged for merchandise, or for slaves. No portion of the territory is ever ceded, the whole belongs to the community, whose chief fixes the extent which every person is to cultivate, in order to reap the fruits of it.

This manner of terminating differences is not merely that of little states, whose chiefs are too wise to aspire after enlarging their dominions, and too much advanced in years not to be fond of peace. Great empires are obliged to conform to these principles with neighbours much weaker than themselves. The sovereign has never any standing army, and though he disposes at pleasure of the lives of the governors of his provinces, he prescribes them no rules of administration. These are petty princes, who for fear of being suspected of ambition and punished with death, live in concord with the elective colonies which surround them. Unanimity between the more considerable powers and the smaller states, is preserved as much by the great authority the prince hath over his subjects, as by the impossibility there

BOOK XI. is of his exerting it as he pleaſes. He can only ſtrike a ſingle blow, or cauſe a ſingle head to be ſtruck off. He may, indeed, command that his lieutenant ſhould be aſſaſſinated, and the whole province will obey his orders; but were he to command all the inhabitants of a province to be put to death, he would find no one ready to execute his orders; nor would he be able to excite any other province to take up arms againſt that which diſobeyed him. His power againſt individuals is unlimitted; but he can do very little againſt the whole collective body.

ANOTHER reaſon which prevents the ſmall ſtates from being enſlaved by the great ones, is, that theſe people annex no idea to the glory of conqueſts. The only perſon, who appears to have been animated with it, was a ſlave-broker, who, from his infancy, had frequented the European veſſels, and who, in his riper years, had made a voyage to Portugal. Every thing he ſaw and heard, fired his imagination and taught him that a great name was frequently acquired by being the cauſe of great calamities. At his return into his country, he felt himſelf greatly humiliated at being obliged to obey people leſs enlightened than himſelf. His intrigues raiſed him to the dignity of chief of the Acanis, and he prevailed on them to take up arms againſt their neighbours. Nothing could oppoſe his valour, and his dominion extended over more than an hundred leagues of coaſt, of which Anamabou was the center. At his death

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no one dared to ſucceed him: and all the ſupports of his authority failing at once, every thing returned to its former ſituation. BOOK XI.

THE Chriſtian and Mohammedan religion ſeem to have taken poſſeſſion of the two extremities of that part of the weſt of Africa, which is frequented by the Europeans. The muſſelmen of Barbary have carried their religious ſyſtem to the people of the Cape de Verd iſlands, who have extended it ſtill further. In proportion as theſe religious opinions have been diſtant from their ſource, they have undergone ſo great an alteration, that each kingdom, each village, each family maintained a different ſyſtem. Excepting circumciſion, which is univerſal, it would ſcarcely be imagined that theſe people profeſſed the ſame worſhip. This religion does not penetrate beyond the cape of Monta, whoſe inhabitants have no communication with their neighbours.

WHAT the Arabs had done to the north of the line for the Coran, the Portugueſe afterwards did to the ſouth for the Goſpel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, they eſtabliſhed it from the country of Benguela to Zara. A mode of worſhip, which offered ſure and eaſy means for the expiation of all crimes was perfectly agreeable to the taſte of nations, whoſe religion did not afford them ſuch comfortable proſpects. If it was afterwards proſcribed in ſeveral ſtates it was owing to the exceſſes of thoſe who propagated it, which drew upon it this diſgrace. It hath even been totally

BOOK XI. totally diſguiſed in the countries where it has been preſerved; a few trifling ceremonies are the only remains of it.

THE coaſts which are in the center have preſerved ſome local ſuperſtitions, whoſe origin muſt be very ancient. They conſiſt in the worſhip of that innumerable multitude of divinities or Fetiches, which every perſon makes after his own fancy and for his own uſe; in the belief auguries, trials by fire and boiling water, and in the power of Gris-Gris. There are ſome ſuperſtitions more dangerous; I mean that blind confidence which they repoſe in the prieſts who are the miniſters and promoters of them; theſe are intruſted with the ſacred depoſit of the national traditions: and pretend to prophecy. The correſpondence which they are ſuppoſed to hold with the evil ſpirit makes them conſidered as the arbiters of the barrenneſs and fertility of the country. On this account the firſt fruits are always offered to them. All their other errors have a ſocial tendency, and conſpire to render man more humane and peaceable.

THE different religions which are ſpread through Africa, have not changed the manner of living; becauſe the influence of the climate there is ſo predominant, that opinions have but little effect upon their manners. The houſes are always built of the branches of the palm-tree, moſt commonly of earth and covered with ſtraw, oſiers, or reeds. Their furniture conſiſts ſolely of baſkets, earthen pots, mats which ſerve as beds, and cabalaſhes of

which

which all their utenſils are made. A girdle round the loins is their only apparel. They live on game, fiſh, fruit, rice, or on bread made of maize, ill-baked. Their drink is the wine of the Palm-tree. Arts are unknown amongſt them. All their labours are confined to certain ruſtic employments. Scarce one hundredth part of their country is cultivated, and that in a very wretched manner, either by poor people, or by ſlaves, who, from their indolence and ſtation, have the greateſt averſion from labour.

THERE is a greater variety obſervable in their manners than in their wants. On the banks of the Niger, the women are generally handſome, if beauty conſiſts in ſymmetry of proportion and not in colour. Modeſt, affable and faithful, an air of innocence appears in their looks and their language is an indication of their baſhfulneſs. The names of Zilia, Calypſo, Fanny, Zama, which ſeem to be names of pleaſure, are pronounced with an inflection of voice, of the ſoftneſs and ſweetneſs of which our organs are not ſuſceptible. The men are of a proper ſize, their ſkin is as black as ebony, and their features and countenances pleaſing. The habit of taming horſes and hunting wild beaſts gives them an air of dignity. They do not eaſily put up with an affront, but the example of thoſe animals they have reared, inſpires them with boundleſs gratitude for a maſter who treats them with indulgence. It is impoſſible to find ſervants more attentive, more ſober, and who have ſtronger attachments;

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tachments; but they do not make good husbandmen; because their body is not habituated to stoop and bend towards the ground, in order to clear it.

The complexion of the Africans degenerates towards the east. The people of this climate are strong, but short. They have an air of strength, which is denoted by firm muscles; and the features of their faces are spread out, and have no expression. The figures impressed on their foreheads and on their cheeks increase their natural deformity. An ungrateful soil, which is not improveable by culture, has forced them to have recourse to fishing, though the sea, which they can scarce venture upon an account of a bar that runs along the coast, seems to divert them from it. Thus repulsed, as it were, by the elements, they have sought for aid among adjacent nations more favoured by nature; from whom they have derived their subsistence by selling them salt. A spirit of traffic hath been diffused among them since the arrival of the Europeans; because ideas are unfolded in all men in proportion to the variety of objects that are presented to them; and because more combinations are necessary to barter a slave for several sorts of merchandise, than to sell a bushel of salt. Besides, though they are well adapted to all employments where strength only is required, yet they are unfit for the internal duties of domestic life. This condition of life is repugnant to their customs, according to which they

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are paid ſeparately for every thing they do. And, indeed, the reciprocation of daily labour and daily recompence is, perhaps, one of the beſt incentives to induſtry among all men. The wives of theſe mercantile negroes ſhare all their labours except that of fiſhing. They have neither the amiableneſs, modeſty, diſcretion nor beauty of the women of the Niger, and they appear to have leſs ſenſibility. In comparing the two nations it might perhaps, be imagined, that the one conſiſts of the loweſt claſs of people in a poliſhed and civilized city, and that the other hath enjoyed the advantages of ſuperior education. Their language is a ſtrong indication of their character. The accents of the one have an extreme ſweetneſs, thoſe of the other, are harſh and dry like the ſoil they inhabit. Their vivacity, even in pleaſures, reſembles the furious tranſports of anger.

Beyond the river Volta, in Benin, and in the other countries, known under the general name of the Golden Coaſt, the people have a ſmooth ſkin, and of a dark black colour; their teeth are beautiful; they are of a middling ſtature, but well ſhaped, and have a baſhful countenance. Their faces though agreeable enough would be much more ſo, if the women were not uſed to ſcar them, and the men to burn their foreheads. The baſis of their creed is a metempſycoſis of a peculiar kind: they believe, that in whatever place they remove to, or wherever they are tranſported, they ſhall return after their death, whether cauſed by the

BOOK XI. the laws of nature, or by their own hands, to their native country. This conviction conſtitutes their happineſs; becauſe they conſider their country as the moſt delightful abode in the univerſe. This pleaſing error conduces to humanize them. Foreigners, who reſide in this climate, are treated with reſpectful civility, from a perſuaſion that they are come there to receive the recompence due to their conduct. This people have a diſpoſition to chearfulneſs not obſervable in the neighbouring nations; they are inclined to labour, have a ready conception, a ſolidity of judgment, principles of equity ſeldom altered by circumſtances, and a great facility of adapting themſelves to foreign manners. They are tenacious of their commercial cuſtoms, even when they are not advantageous to them. The method of trafficking with them was, for a long time, the ſame that had been at firſt practiſed among them. The firſt veſſel that arrived diſpoſed of its cargo before another was permitted to trade. Each had its turn. The commodities were ſold at the ſame fixed price to all. It is but very lately that the nation hath reſolved to avail itſelf of the advantages it might derive from the number of European nations frequenting its ports.

THE people ſituated between the Line and Zara, have all a great reſemblance to one another. They are well made. Their bodies are leſs robuſt than thoſe of the inhabitants to the north of the equator; and though there are ſome marks on their faces,

faces, none of thoſe ſcars are to be perceived which are ſo ſhocking at firſt ſight. Their food is ſimple, and their life frugal. They love eaſe and never labour beyond their ſtrength. Their feaſts are accompanied with military ſports, which revive the idea of our ancient tournaments; with this difference, that in Europe they conſtituted the exerciſes of a warlike nation, whereas in Africa they are the amuſements of a timid people. The women are not admitted to theſe public diverſions. Aſſembled together in certain houſes they ſpend the day in private, and no men are ever admitted into their ſociety. The pride of rank is the ſtrongeſt paſſion of theſe people, who are naturally peaceable. A certain degree of ceremony obtains both at the court of princes and in private life. Upon the moſt trivial occurrences, they haſten to their friends either to congratulate them or to condole with them. A marriage occaſions viſiting for three months. The funeral obſequies of a perſon of diſtinction continue ſometimes two years. Thoſe who were connected to him, in any degree, carry his remains through ſeveral provinces. The crowd gathers as they proceed, and no perſon departs, till the corpſe is depoſited in the tomb, with all the demonſtrations of the deepeſt ſorrow. So determined a taſte for ceremony hath proved favourable to ſuperſtition, and ſuperſtition hath promoted a ſpirit of indolence. In theſe countries, the earth ſufficiently fertile, without requiring much labour, is only cultivated by

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by women, whom ſervitude or penury condemn to this drudgery. Men ſlaves, or free men if poor, are employed in hunting and fiſhing, or are deſtined to augment the retinue of the great. There is in this nation in general leſs equality between the two ſexes, than is found among their neighbours. Birth and rank here impart to ſome women the right of chooſing a huſband, whom they keep in the moſt extreme ſubjection. They have even the right, whenever they are diſſatisfied with their choice, of condemning him to ſlavery; and it is to be imagined that they freely make uſe of this privilege, however humiliating it may be to the two ſexes. For, what is that man, whom a woman can make her ſlave? He is good neither for her, nor for himſelf.

FROM Zara to the river of Coanza, the ancient cuſtoms ſtill remain; but they are blended with a confuſed mixture of European manners, which are not to be found elſewhere. It is probable that the Portugueſe, who have large ſettlements in this country, and who were deſirous of introducing the chriſtian religion among them, had a greater intercourſe with them than they had with other nations, who having only factories to the north of the line, have been only employed in carrying on their commerce.

THE reader need not be told, that all we have related concerning the people of Guinea, ought only to be applied to that claſs which, in all countries, ſtamps the character of a nation. The inferior

ferior orders and ſlaves are further removed from this reſemblance, in proportion as they are debaſed or degraded by their occupations or their conditions. The moſt diſcerning inquirers have, however, imagined that the difference of conditions did not produce in this people varieties ſo diſtinguiſhable as we find in the ſtates which are ſituated between the Elbe and the Tiber, which are nearly of the ſame extent of country as the Niger and the Coanza. The further men depart from nature, the leſs muſt they reſemble one another. The multiplicity of civil and political inſtitutions neceſſarily occaſions a difference in the moral character and in the natural cuſtoms of men, which is unknown to ſocieties leſs complicated. Beſides, nature being more powerful under the torrid than under the temperate zone, does not permit the influence of manners to exert itſelf ſo ſtrongly. Men in theſe countries bear a greater ſimilitude to one another, becauſe they owe every thing to nature, and very little to art. In Europe, an extenſive and diverſified commerce, varying and multiplying the enjoyments, the fortunes and ſeveral conditions of men, adds likewiſe to the differences which the climate, the laws and the common prejudices have eſtabliſhed among active and laborious nations.

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In Guinea, trade has never been able to cauſe a material alteration in the manners of its inhabitants. It formerly conſiſted of certain exchanges of ſalt and dried fiſh, which were conſumed by

Ancient trade of Guinea.

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the nations remote from the coaſt. Theſe gave in return ſtuffs made of a kind of thread, which was only a woody ſubſtance, cloſely adhering to the inner ſide of the bark of a particular tree in theſe climates. The air hardens it, and renders it fit for every kind of weaving. Bonnets, ſcarfs, and aprons to ſerve for girdles, are made of it, which vary in ſhape according to the particular mode of each nation. The natural colour of the thread is a pale grey. The dew, which bleaches our flax, gives it a citron colour, which rich people prefer. The black dye, generally uſed among the people, is extracted from the bark of the tree of which this thread is made, by ſimple infuſion in water. As this thread readily takes all colours, this hath induced the people to work it up into different figures of men, birds and quadrupeds. The ſtuffs thus wrought, ſerve to hang their apartments with, to cover their ſeats, and for other kinds of furniture.

The firſt Europeans, who frequented the weſtern coaſts of Africa, fixed a value on wax, ivory, and gum, which before had none. They gave a price to gold, from which they drew at moſt three thouſand marks a year. Their reſtleſs avarice, which hath never been ſatisfied with this produce, made them frequently concert expedients to augment it. They flatter themſelves, that their deſigns will ſoon be ſucceſsful by the following ſcheme.

In the interior parts of Africa, under the twelfth or thirteenth degree of north latitude, there is, ſays

ſays a modern traveller, a pretty large country, known by the name of Bambuck. It is not ſubject to a particular king, but governed by village lords, called Farims. Theſe hereditary and independent chiefs are all obliged to unite for the defence of the ſtate, when it is either attacked as a community, or only in any one of its branches.

The territory of this ariſtocratical ſtate is dry, and barren. It produces neither maize, rice, nor pulſe. The inſupportable heats it is ſubject to, proceed in part from its being ſurrounded by high mountains, which prevent the wind from refreſhing the air. The climate is as unwholeſome as it is diſagreeable: vapours, which continually iſſue from the bowels of a ſoil replete with minerals, render this country unfit to live in, eſpecially to ſtrangers.

It is gold that hath made this miſerable country an object worthy of notice: gold, which in the eyes of the covetous man, ſeems to compenſate for all the evils of nature, though in reality it increaſes them all. This metal is ſo common in this country, that it is found almoſt indiſcriminately every where. To obtain it, ſometimes it is ſufficient to ſcrape the ſurface of the earth, that is clayiſh, light and mixed with ſand. When the mine is very rich, it is digged only to the depth of a few feet, and never deeper; though it has been obſerved, that the lower it was digged, the more gold the ſoil afforded. The miners are too indolent to purſue a toil which conſtantly becomes more tedious and

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too ignorant to prevent the inconveniences it would be attended with. Their negligence and their folly are in this inſtance ſo extraordinary, that in waſhing the gold, in order to ſeparate it from the earth, they only preſerve the larger pieces: the light parts paſs away with the water, which flows down an inclined plain.

THE inhabitants of Bambuck do not work theſe mines at all times, nor are they at liberty to do it when they pleaſe. They are obliged to wait till private or public wants determine the Farims to grant this permiſſion. When it is proclaimed, all who are able to avail themſelves of this advantage meet at the appointed place. When their work is finiſhed, a diviſion is made. Half of the gold goes to the lord, and the remainder is equally diſtributed among the labourers. Thoſe who want gold at any other time than that of the general digging, ſearch for it in the beds of the rivers, where it is very common.

THE French and Engliſh have ſucceſſively been deſirous of appropriating to themſelves theſe real or imaginary riches. Some thought they could reach this country by the Niger, others by the Salum. Far from having ſucceeded in their attempts of becoming maſters of this country, they have not yet aſcertained its exiſtence. The unſucceſsfulneſs of paſt efforts hath redoubled the activity of ſanguine minds: ſenſible and judicious merchants have choſen to limit themſelves to a com-

commerce much more important, which is that of slaves.



New commerce of Guinea, or the slave trade.

THE property which some men have acquired over others in Guinea, is of very high antiquity. It is generally established there, excepting in some small districts, where liberty hath, as it were, retired and is still maintained. No proprietor, however, has a right to sell a man who is born in a state of servitude. He can only dispose of those slaves whom he gets, whether by war, in which every prisoner is a slave unless exchanged, or in lieu of compensation for some injury; or if he hath received them as a testimony of acknowledgment. This law, which seems to be made in favour of one who is born a slave, to indulge him with the enjoyment of his family and of his country, is yet ineffectual, since the Europeans have established luxury on the coasts of Africa. It is every day eluded by concerted quarrels, which two proprietors mutually dissemble, in order to be reciprocally condemned, each in his turn, to a fine, which is paid in persons born slaves, the disposal of whom is allowed by the sanction of the same law.

CORRUPTION, contrary to its ordinary progress, hath advanced from private persons to princes. The procuring of slaves hath given frequent occasion to wars, as they are excited in Europe in order to obtain soldiers. The custom has been established of punishing with slavery not only those who have attempted the lives or properties of

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citizens, but those also who were incapable of paying their debts, and those who have violated conjugal faith. This punishment, in process of time, has been inflicted for the most trivial offences, after having been at first reserved only for the greatest crimes. Prohibitions even of things indifferent have been constantly multiplied, in order to increase the revenues raised from the fines by increasing the number of offences. Injustice hath known no bounds or restraints. At a great distance from the coast, there are chiefs, who give orders for every thing they meet with in the villages around them to be carried off. The children are thrown into sacks: the men and women are gagged to stifle their cries. If the ravagers are stopped by a superior force, they are conducted before the prince, who always disowns the commission he has given, and under pretence of doing justice, instantly sells his agents to the ships he has treated with.

NOTWITHSTANDING these infamous arts, the people of the coast have found it impossible to supply the demands of the merchants. They have experienced what every nation must, that can trade only with its nominal stock. Slaves are to the commerce of Europeans in Africa, what gold is in the commerce we carry on in the new world. The heads of the negroes represent the stock of the state of Guinea. Every day this stock is carried off, and nothing is left them but articles of consumption. Their capital gradually vanishes, be-

becauſe it cannot be renewed, by reaſon of the ſpeedy conſumptions. Thus the trade for blacks would long ſince have been entirely loſt, if the inhabitants of the coaſts had not imparted their luxury to the people of the inland countries, from whom they now draw the greateſt part of the ſlaves that are put into our hands. Thus the trade of the Europeans, by gradual advances, has almoſt exhauſted the only vendible commodities of this nation.

In the ſpace of twenty years this circumſtance hath raiſed the price of ſlaves almoſt to four times above the former coſt: the reaſon is this. The ſlaves are chiefly paid for in merchandiſe from the Eaſt-Indies, which has doubled its value in Europe. A double quantity of theſe goods muſt be given in Africa. Thus the colonies of America, where the ſale for blacks is concluded, are obliged to ſupport theſe ſeveral augmentations, and conſequently to pay four times more than they formerly did.

Notwithſtanding this, the diſtant proprietor who ſells his ſlave, receives a leſs quantity of merchandiſe than the perſon received fifty years ago, who ſold his ſlave in the neighbourhood of the coaſt. The profits intercepted by paſſing through different hands, the expences of tranſport, the impoſts, ſometimes of three *per cent.* that muſt be paid to thoſe princes through whoſe territories they paſs, ſink the difference betwixt the ſum which the firſt proprietor receives, and that which the European

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trader pays. Theſe expences continually increaſe on account of the great diſtances of the places where there are ſtill ſlaves to be ſold. The further off the firſt ſale is, the greater will be the difficulties attending the journey. They will become ſuch, that of the ſum which the European merchant will be able to pay, there will remain ſo little to offer to the firſt ſeller, that he will rather chooſe to keep his ſlave. All trade of this kind will then be at an end. In order, therefore, to ſupport it effectually, our traders muſt furniſh at an exorbitant price, and ſell in proportion to the colonies; which, on their part, not being able to diſpoſe of their produce but at a very advanced price, will no longer find a conſumption for it. But till that time comes, which is, perhaps, not ſo diſtant as the coloniſts imagine, they will, without the leaſt remorſe, continue to make the lives and labours of the negroes ſubſervient to their intereſts. They will find navigators who will hazard the purchaſing of them, and theſe will meet with tyrants who will ſell them.

SLAVE merchants collect themſelves into companies, and forming a ſpecies of caravans, in the ſpace of two or three hundred leagues they conduct ſeveral files of thirty or forty ſlaves, all laden with water and corn which are neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence in thoſe barren deſerts through which they paſs. The manner of ſecuring them without much incommoding their march, is ingeniouſly contrived. A fork of wood from eight to nine feet

feet long is put round the neck of each ſlave. A pin of iron rivetted ſecures the fork at the back part in ſuch a manner that the head cannot diſengage itſelf. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before, and ſo embarraſſes the perſon who is tied to it, that though he has his arms and legs at liberty, he can neither walk, nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the ſlaves on the ſame line, and ſupport and tie the extremity of each fork on the ſhoulder of the foremoſt ſlave, and proceed in this manner from one to another, till they come to the firſt, the extremity of whoſe fork is carried by one of the guides. Few reſtraints are impoſed that are not felt by the perſons who impoſe them. In order that theſe traders may enjoy the refreſhment of ſleep without uneaſineſs, they tie the arms of every ſlave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condition he can neither run away nor make any attempt to recover his liberty. Theſe precautions have been found indiſpenſible, becauſe, if the ſlave can but break his chain, he becomes free. The public faith, which ſecures to the proprietor the poſſeſſion of his ſlave, and which at all times delivers him up into his hands, is ſilent with regard to a ſlave and a trader who exerciſes the moſt contemptible of all profeſſions.

GREAT numbers of ſlaves arrive together, eſpecially when they come from diſtant countries. This arrangement is neceſſary, in order to diminiſh the

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the expence which is unavoidable in conducting them. The interval between one voyage and another, which by this syſtem of oeconomy is already made too diſtant, may become ſtill greater by particular circumſtances. The moſt uſual are the rains, which cauſe the rivers to overflow, and put a ſtop to this trade. The ſeaſon moſt favourable to travelling in the interior parts of Africa, is from February to September; and it is from September to March, that the return of theſe ſlave traders produces the greateſt plenty of this traffic on the coaſts.

Account of the places and manner in which the ſlave trade is carried on.

THE trade of the Europeans is carried on to the ſouth and north of the line. The firſt coaſt, known by the name of Angola, hath but three ports, which are equally free to all nations; theſe are Cabenda, Loango, and Malemba; and beſides theſe, two more, of which the Portugueſe are the ſole maſters, St. Paul de Loando, and St. Philip de Benguela. Theſe latitudes nearly ſupply one third of the blacks that are carried to America, who are neither the moſt intelligent, the moſt laborious, nor the moſt robuſt. The ſecond coaſt, known by the general name of the Gold coaſt, abounds more in harbours, but they are not equally favourable to commerce. The reſtraint occaſioned by the forts, which the Europeans have erected in ſeveral places, drives away the dealers in ſlaves. They are to be met with in much larger numbers at Anambou and Calbary, where commerce is entirely free.

IN

In 1768, there were exported out of Africa, 104,100 ſlaves. The Engliſh brought up 53,100 of them for their iſlands; their coloniſts on the north continent 6,300; the French 23,500; the Dutch 11,300; the Portugueſe 8,700; and the Danes 1,200. All theſe unhappy men did not arrive at the place of their deſtination. In the ordinary courſe of things, the eighth part muſt have periſhed in their paſſage. Every nation hath employed in its colonies the cultivators it hath purchaſed. Great Britain alone has ceded four thouſand of them to the Spaniards, and fraudulently introduced about three thouſand in the French ſettlements.

It would be a very great miſtake to imagine that America regularly receives the ſame number of negroes. Not to mention the conſiderable diminution in the number of expeditions to Guinea, on account of the war, the arrangements of the laſt peace have occaſioned new lands to be cultivated, which required extraordinary ſupplies. The number of men muſt be reduced to ſixty thouſand, of which the African coaſts are deprived every year. Suppoſing that each of theſe ſlaves coſts on the ſpot three hundred livres,* thoſe barbarous regions receive eighteen millions † for ſo horrid a ſacrifice.

The French merchant will exclaim, we doubt not, at the price which ſlaves are here ſtated at. It is univerſally known that he purchaſes them much dearer; and that the Engliſh and Dutch pur-

* 13l. 2s. 6d. † 787,500l.

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purchaſe them at a lower price, becauſe they are not reduced by the inſufficiency of their Aſiatic commerce and the imperfection of certain manufactures proper to the African trade, to pay, as the French merchant does, for commiſſion, freight, and inſurance, in order to draw from foreign ports ſome merchandiſe, without which trade cannot be carried on. The Portugueſe have ſtill another advantage over theſe nations. They carry on their expeditions from Brazil; their exchanges are generally made with the tobacco and brandy of their own country; and they maintain an excluſive trade on the coaſts, which are two hundred leagues long, and forty broad.

EXCEPTING the Portugueſe, all nations pay for ſlaves with the ſame merchandiſe. Theſe are ſabres, firelocks, gun-powder, iron, brandy, hardware, woollen ſtuffs, eſpecially Eaſt India cottons, or thoſe which are wrought in Europe, and coloured in the ſame manner. The people north of the line have adopted, inſtead of money, little white ſhells, which we import among them from the Maldives. South of the line, the European trade is deprived of this object of exchange. There ſmall pieces of ſtraw ſtuff, eighteen inches long, and twelve broad, are uſed as marks of value. This real mark is only the fortieth part of an ideal value, which they call *piece*.

THIS word, from the time the Europeans have frequented Africa, is become the numerical term of all things that bear the greateſt value. The price

price of each ſpecies of merchandiſe imported thither is invariably fixed under the denomination of one, two, three or more pieces. Each piece, in its original value, is nearly worth a piſtole, and for ſome time paſt, thirty-five or thirty-ſix pieces have been given for a negro, all taxes included. The greateſt of them is the fee that muſt be given the factor, who always mediates between the vender and the purchaſer, whom it is neceſſary to make a friend of, and who is become of ſo much the more conſequence, as the competition between the Europeans has increaſed, and the want of ſlaves has been more ſenſibly felt. Another tax, which though aſked under the name of a preſent, is no leſs an extorted tribute, is, that which muſt be paid to the prince and his chief officers, for the liberty of trading. The ſum is in proportion to the ſize of the veſſel, and may be valued at three *per cent.*

Are forts neceſſary in order to procure ſlaves?

THE European nations have been of opinion that it was conducive to the utility of their commerce, to form ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. The Portugueſe, who firſt traverſed theſe immenſe regions, left every where the marks of their ambition, rather than of their ſagacity. The weak and numberleſs colonies which they poured in, ſoon forgot a country, which had itſelf forgotten them. In proceſs of time, there remained of theſe great conqueſts nothing but that vaſt ſpace which extends from Zara to cape Negro, from whence Braſil ſtill procures its ſlaves. They have

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have also preserved some isles of little consequence. Those which are situated at the west end of Cape de Verd, produce salt, feed cattle, and serve as a place of refreshment for vessels going to the East-Indies. Prince's Island, and St. Thomas, which are at the entrance of the Gulph of Gabon, supply navigators with fresh provisions, who, after leaving the gold coast, sail to America. They are both of no importance in the commercial world.

Though Portugal, even in the earliest times, derived but very moderate advantages from the coasts of Africa, it was yet so jealous of the sovereignty which it exercised there, in virtue of its discovery, that it thought no nation had a right to approach them. The English, who first ventured to question the right of these pretensions, about the year 1553, sustained the affront of having their vessels seized. A national war immediately ensued, and the superiority of arms put a final period to this tyranny. In process of time, the exclusive companies of England, which had embarked in this trade, successively formed factories without number, of which that of cape Corse, situated on the gold coast, and that of James, placed in an island at the mouth of the river Gambia, were for a considerable time the principal and the most useful. Though many of them had been abandoned, there still remained sixteen, when the parliament, rouzed by the public clamour, determined in 1752, to put a stop to this monoply. The nation purchased of the proprietors all these forti-

fied

fied magazines, for the ſum of 1,523,198 livres, 13 ſols,* where there were no more than one hundred and twenty men. The expence of maintaining them amounts annually to about 292,500 livres †.



THE Engliſh almoſt entirely engroſſed the African trade, when the Dutch, in 1637, undertook to ſhare it with them. The war they were carrying on againſt Spain, authoriſed them to attack the Portugueſe ſettlements in Guinea; and they made themſelves maſters of both of them in a very ſhort time. The treaty of 1641, ſecured the property of them to the republic. This ſtate pretending to enter into all the rights of the firſt poſſeſſor, intended to exclude her rival from theſe latitudes, and ceaſed not to moleſt her till the peace of Breda. Of all theſe conqueſts, that of fort Mina on the gold coaſt, was found the moſt important. It had been built in 1452, by the Portugueſe, who had enriched its territory by planting ſugar-canes, maize, and different kinds of excellent fruits; and had ſupplied it with a number of uſeful animals, which they had imported thither. They drew from thence a conſiderable quantity of gold and ſome ſlaves. This ſettlement did not degenerate in the hands of the Hollanders, who made it the center of all the factories they had acquired, and of all the buſineſs they carried on in Africa.

THE

* 66,639l. 8s. 9d. ½. † 12,726l. 17s. 6d.

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THE prosperity of the Dutch, in this part of the world, was at its height, when they were attacked by Lewis XIV. This prince, who aspired after universal glory, seized an opportunity offered him by the war of 1672, of extending the terror which his flag carried with it on all the seas, even to the borders of Africa. He took from the Dutch the forts of Arguin and Portendic, which were at that time the general market for gums. His subjects afterwards established on the coast several posts which were obliged to be abandoned, either because they were injudiciously chosen, or because they were not sufficient forces to support them. Since the time that France, by a series of errors and misfortunes, hath found herself under a necessity of giving up Senegal to the English by the last treaty, she hath nothing now remaining but the factory of Juida, and the island of Gorea, where there is not, nor ever will be any trade. Some years ago, a settlement that would have been of advantage to Anambou, began to be formed, when the workmen were driven away by cannon-shot fired in a time of full peace, by the ships of Great-Britain. An able merchant who was then at London, at the news of this outrage, expressed his astonishment at a conduct so imprudent. *Sir*, said a minister to him, who was in great favour with this enlightned people, *if we were to be just to the French, we should not exist thirty years longer.*

THE Danes, who settled in Africa a little after the middle of the last century, and who purchased

of

of the king of Aquambo the two forts of Frede- BOOK
rickburg and Chriſtianburg, ſituated on the golden XI.
coaſt near each other, never experienced a ſimilar treatment. They owed the tranquillity which they enjoyed to the inſignificancy of the trade they carried on. It was in ſo low a ſtate, that they only fitted out a ſingle veſſel every two or three years. This trade hath been extended for ſome time paſt, but it is ſtill far from being conſiderable.

If we except the Portugueſe, all the European nations ſubjected their African trade to excluſive charters. The companies in poſſeſſion of this monopoly, the errors of which all governments at laſt have felt and put a ſtop to, fortified their factories, both in order to drive away ſtrangers, and to oblige the natives to ſell to none but themſelves. When the diſtricts, in which theſe forts were erected had no more ſlaves to deliver, trade languiſhed, becauſe the people in the inland countries preferred the conveying their ſlaves into free ports, where they might chuſe the purchaſers. Thus the factories, which had been of ſuch utility when the coaſt was populous, are no longer ſo valuable, ſince the factors of them are obliged to make long voyages, in order to complete their purchaſe. The advantage of theſe eſtabliſhments was loſt, when the object of their commerce was exhauſted.

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In the slave trade small vessels are preferable to large ones.

THE difficulty of procuring slaves naturally points out the necessity of employing small ships for carrying them off. At a time when a small territory, adjacent to the coast, furnished in a fortnight or three weeks, a whole cargo, it was prudent to employ large vessels, because there was a possibility of understanding, looking after, and encouraging the slaves, who all spoke the same language. At present, when each ship can scarce procure sixty or eighty slaves a month, brought from the distance of two or three hundred leagues, exhausted by the fatigues of a long journey, obliged to remain on board the vessels they are embarked upon five or six months in sight of their country, having all different idioms, uncertain of the destiny that awaits them, struck with the prepossession that the Europeans eat them and drink their blood; their extreme uneasiness alone destroys them, or occasions disorders which become contagious by the impossibility of separating the sick from the healthy. A small ship destined to carry two or three hundred negroes, by means of the short stay it makes on the coast, avoids half the accidents and losses to which a ship capable of holding five or six hundred slaves is exposed. Thus the English, who have extended this commerce as far as possible, have adopted the custom of sending only vessels of a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and thirty tons, into the seas which extend from Senegal to the river Volta, and to fit out vessels a little larger only for Colbar, where the

the trade is more conſiderable, and where they make their principal cargoes. The French are the only people who obſtinately adhere to the ancient practice. The town of Nantes, however, which alone carries on as much trade in Africa as all the other ports of the kingdom together, begins to feel the abſurdity of theſe prejudices. It will undoubtedly entirely relinquiſh them; and all the merchants who conduct the ſame trade on their own bottoms, will follow its example.

There are ſeaſons more or leſs favourable to the ſlave trade.

THERE are abuſes of the utmoſt conſequence, to be reformed in this voyage, which is naturally unhealthy. Thoſe who engage in it commonly fall into two great miſtakes. Dupes to a mercenary diſpoſition, the privateers pay more regard to the port than to the diſpatch of their veſſels; a circumſtance which neceſſarily prolongs the voyage, which every thing ſhould induce them to ſhorten as much as poſſible. Another inconvenience ſtill more dangerous, is, the cuſtom they have of ſailing from Europe at all times; though the regularity of the winds and the currents hath determined the moſt proper ſeaſon for arriving at theſe latitudes.

THIS bad practice hath given riſe to the diſtinction of the great and little voyage. The little voyage is the ſtraighteſt and the ſhorteſt. It is no more than eighteen hundred leagues to the moſt diſtant ports where there are ſlaves. It may be performed in thirty-five or forty days, from the beginning of September to the end of November;

BOOK XI. because, from the time of ſetting out to the time of arrival, the winds and the currents are favourable. It is even poſſible to attempt it in December, January and February, but with leſs ſecurity and ſucceſs.

SAILING is no longer practicable in theſe latitudes, from the beginning of March to the end of Auguſt. The ſhips would have continually to ſtruggle againſt the violent currents which run northward, and againſt the ſouth-eaſt wind, which conſtantly blows. Experience has taught navigators, that during this ſeaſon, they muſt keep at a diſtance from the ſhore, get into the open ſea, ſail towards the ſouth as far as twenty-ſix or twenty-eight degrees betwixt Africa and Brazil, and afterwards draw gradually nearer and nearer to Guinea, in order to land at a hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues to windward of the port where they are to diſembark. This route is two thouſand five hundred leagues, and requires ninety or a hundred days ſail.

THIS great route, independent of its length, deprives them of the moſt favourable time for trade and for returning. The ſhips meet with calms, are thwarted by winds, and carried away by currents; water fails them, the proviſions are ſpoiled, and the ſlaves are ſeized with the ſcurvy. Other calamities not leſs fatal, often increaſe the danger that attends this expedition. The negroes, to the north of the Line, are ſubject to the ſmall-pox, which, by a ſingularity very diſtreſſing, ſeldom breaks

breaks out among this people till after the age of fourteen. If this contagious diſtemper affects a ſhip which is at her moorings, there are ſeveral known methods to leſſen its violence. But a ſhip attacked by it, while on its paſſage to America, often loſes the whole cargo of ſlaves. Thoſe who are born to the ſouth of the Line, avoid this diſeaſe by another, which is a kind of virulent ulcer, whoſe malignity is more violent and more irritable on the ſea, and which is never radically cured. Phyſicians ought, perhaps, to obſerve this double effect of the ſmall-pox among the negroes, which is, that it favours thoſe who are born beyond the Equator, and never attacks the others in their infancy. The number and variety of effects ſometimes afford occaſion for the inveſtigation of the cauſes of diſorders, and for the diſcovery of remedies proper for them.

THOUGH all the nations, concerned in the African trade, are equally intereſted in preſerving the ſlaves in their paſſage, they do not all attend to it with the ſame care. They all feed them with beans, mixed with a ſmall quantity of rice; but they differ in other reſpects in their manner of treating them. The Engliſh, Dutch and Danes keep the men conſtantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the ſmall number of hands they have on board their ſhips obliges them to this ſeverity. The French, who have great numbers, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters.

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All these nations, especially the English, are too negligent with regard to the intercourse between the sailors with the women slaves. This irregularity occasions the death of three-fourths of those whom the Guinea voyage destroys every year. None, but the Portuguese, during their passage, are secured against revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a consequence of the care they take to man their vessels only with the negroes, to whom they have given their freedom. The slaves encouraged by the conversation and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the destiny that awaits them. The quietness of their behaviour induces the Portuguese to grant the two sexes the happiness of living together: an indulgence, which, if allowed in other vessels, would be productive of the greatest inconveniences.

It is a generally received opinion, that the blacks, who are brought from America, are now sold at a higher price than they were formerly. This is a mistake, arising from this circumstance, that the purchaser pays attention only to the number of those arbitrary marks of value which he gives, instead of reckoning the quantity of those commodities he delivers in exchange. This proportion, which is the only exact one, will make him sensible that the price of negroes hath not advanced; since they are purchased with the same quantity of those commodities as they were in the earliest

earlieſt times. It is the value of money that hath changed, and not that of the unhappy ſlave. BOOK XI.

Method of ſelling the ſlaves in America.

All nations do not ſell their ſlaves in the ſame manner. The Engliſhman, who hath promiſcuouſly bought up whatever preſented itſelf in the general market, ſells his cargo by wholeſale. A ſingle merchant buys it entire; and the planters parcel it out. What they reject is ſent into foreign colonies, either by ſmuggling, or with permiſſion. The cheapneſs of a negro is a greater object to the buyer to induce him to purchaſe, than the badneſs of his conſtitution is to deter him from it. Theſe traders will one day be convinced of the abſurdity of ſuch a conduct.

The Portugueſe, Dutch, French, and Danes, who have no way of diſpoſing of the infirm and weakly ſlaves, never charge themſelves with them in Guinea. They all divide their cargoes, according to the demands of the proprietors of plantations. The bargain is made for ready money, or for credit, according as the circumſtances vary. When the terms are fixed for eighteen months, as it happens but too often in the French colonies, the negro's labour muſt by that time have brought in two thirds of the price paid for him. If that does not always happen, it is owing to particular reaſons, the detail of which would be ſuperfluous.

Wretched condition of the ſlaves.

In America it is generally believed and aſſerted, that the Africans are equally incapable of reaſon and

BOOK XI. and of virtue. The following well-authenticated fact will enable us to judge of this opinion.

An Engliſh ſhip that traded in Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the ſurgeon behind, whoſe bad ſtate of health did not permit him to continue at ſea. Murray, for that was his name, was there endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch veſſel drew near the coaſt, put the blacks in irons, whom curioſity had brought to the ſhore, and inſtantly ſailed off with their booty.

Those who intereſted themſelves for theſe unhappy people, incenſed at ſo baſe a treachery, inſtantly ran to Cudjoc, who ſtopped them at his door, and aſked them what they were in ſearch of. *The white man, who is with you*, replied they, *who ſhould be put to death, becauſe his brethren have carried off ours. The Europeans*, anſwered the generous hoſt, *who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them whenever you can find them. But he who lodges with me is a good man, he is my friend; my houſe is his fortreſs; I am his ſoldier, and I will defend him. Before you can get at him, you ſhall paſs over my body. O my friends, what juſt man would ever enter my doors, if I had ſuffered my habitation to be ſtained with the blood of an innocent man?* This diſcourſe appeaſed the rage of the blacks: they retired aſhamed of the deſign that had brought them there; and ſome days after acknowledged to Murray himſelf, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have occaſioned them perpetual remorſe.

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This event renders it probable, that the firſt impreſſions which the Africans receive in the new world, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this obſervation: thoſe who fall to the ſhare of a humane maſter, willingly eſpouſe his intereſts. They inſenſibly adopt the ſpirit and manners of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is ſometimes exalted even into heroiſm. A Portugueſe ſlave who had fled into the woods, having learnt that his old maſter had been taken up for an aſſaſſination, came into the court of juſtice, and acknowledged himſelf guilty of the fact; let himſelf be put in priſon in lieu of his maſter; brought falſe, though judicial, proofs of his pretended crime, and ſuffered death inſtead of the guilty perſon. Actions of a leſs heroical nature, though not uncommon, have touched the hearts of ſome coloniſts. Several would readily ſay as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the ſalutation of a black: *I ſhould be very ſorry that a ſlave ſhould be more polite than myſelf.*

But there are barbarians, who conſidering pity as a weakneſs, delight in making their dependents perpetually ſenſible of their tyranny. They juſtly, however, receive their puniſhment in the negligence, infidelity, deſertion, and ſuicide of the deplorable victims of their inſatiable avarice. Some of theſe unfortunate men, eſpecially thoſe of Mina, courageouſly put an end to their lives, under the firm perſuaſion, that they ſhall immediately

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diately after death rise again in their own country, which they look upon as the finest in the world. A vindictive spirit furnishes others with resources still more fatal. Instructed from their infancy in the arts of poisons, which grow, as it were, under their hands, they employ them in the destruction of the cattle, the horses, the mules, the companions of their slavery, and of every living thing employed in the cultivation of the lands of their oppressors. In order to remove from themselves all suspicion, they first exercise their cruelties on their wives, their children, their mistresses, and on every thing that is dearest to them. In this dreadful project, that can only be the result of despair, they take the double pleasure of delivering their species from a yoke more dreadful than death, and of leaving their tyrant in a wretched state of misery, that is an image of their own condition. The fear of punishment does not check them. They are scarce ever known to have any kind of foresight; and they are, moreover, certain of concealing their crimes, being proof against tortures. By means of one of those inexplicable contradiction of the human heart, though common to all people, whether civilized or not, negroes though naturally cowards, give many instances of an unshaken firmness of soul. The same organisation which subjects them to servitude, from the indolence of their mind, and the relaxation of their fibres, inspires them with vigour and unparalleled resolution for extraordinary actions. They are

cowards

cowards all their life-time and heroes only for an in- BOOK
ſtant. One of theſe miſerable men has been known XI.
to cut his wriſt off with a ſtroke of a hatchet, rather than purchaſe his liberty, by ſubmitting to to the vile office of an executioner.

NOTHING, however, is more miſerable than the condition of a black, throughout the whole American Archipelago. A narrow, unwholeſome hut, without any conveniences, ſerves him for a dwelling. His bed is a hurdle, fitter to put the body to torture than to afford it any eaſe. Some earthen pots, and a few wooden diſhes are his furniture. The coarſe linen which covers part of his body, neither ſecures him from the inſupportable heats of the day, nor the dangerous dews of the night. The food he is ſupplied with, is caſſava, ſalt beef, cod, fruits and roots, which are ſcarce able to ſupport his miſerable exiſtence. Deprived of every enjoyment, he is condemned to a perpetual drudgery in a burning climate, conſtantly under the rod of an unfeeling maſter.

THE condition of theſe ſlaves, though every where deplorable, is ſomething different in the colonies. Thoſe who have very extenſive eſtates, generally give them a portion of land, to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They are allowed to employ a part of the Sunday in cultivating it, and the few moments that on other days they ſpare from the time allotted for their meals. In the ſmaller iſlands, the coloniſt himſelf furniſhes their food, the greateſt part of which hath been imported

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imported by sea from other countries. Ignorance, avarice, or poverty, have introduced into some colonies, a method of providing for the subsistence of negroes, equally destructive both to the men and the plantation. They are allowed on Saturday, or some other day, to work in the neighbouring plantations, or to plunder them, in order to procure a maintenance for the rest of the week.

Besides these differences arising from the particular situation of the settlements in the American islands, each European nation hath a manner of treating slaves peculiar to itself. The Spaniards make them the companions of their indolence; the Portuguese, the instruments of their debauch; the Dutch, the victims of their avarice; the English, who easily derive their subsistence from their estates on the northern continent, are less attentive to the management of them than any other nations. If they never promote intermarriages among the blacks, they yet receive with kindness, as the gifts of nature, those children that are the produce of less restrained connections, and seldom exact from the fathers or mothers a toil or a tribute above their strength. Slaves, by them, are considered merely as natural productions, which ought neither to be used, nor destroyed without necessity; but they never treat them with familiarity; they never smile upon them, nor speak to them. One would think they were afraid of letting them suspect, that nature could have given

given any one mark of reſemblance betwixt them and their ſlaves. This makes them hate the Engliſh. The French, leſs haughty, leſs diſdainful, conſider the Africans as a ſpecies of moral beings; and theſe unhappy men, ſenſible of the honour of ſeeing themſelves almoſt treated like rational creatures, ſeem to forget that their maſter is impatient of making his fortune, that he always exacts labours from them above their ſtrength, and frequently lets them want ſubſiſtence. BOOK XI.

The opinions of the Europeans have alſo ſome influence on the condition of the negroes of America. The proteſtants, who are not actuated by a deſire of making proſelytes, ſuffer them to live in Mohammediſm, or in that idolatry in which they were born, under a pretence, that it would be injurious to keep their *brethren in Chriſt* in a ſtate of ſlavery. The catholics think themſelves obliged to give them ſome inſtruction, and to baptize them; but their charity extends no further than the bare ceremonies of a baptiſm, which is wholly uſeleſs and unneceſſary to men who dread not the pains of hell, to which, they ſay, they are accuſtomed in this life.

The torments they experience in their ſlavery, and the diſorders to which they are liable in America, both contribute to render them inſenſible to the dread of future puniſhment. They are particularly ſubject to two diſeaſes, the yaws, and a complaint that affects their ſtomach. The firſt effect of this laſt diſorder is, to turn their ſkin and com-

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complexion to an olive colour. Their tongue becomes white, and they are overpowered by such a desire of sleeping that they cannot resist: they grow faint, and are incapable of the least exercise. It is a languor, and a general relaxation of the whole machine. In this situation they are in such a state of despondency, that they suffer themselves to be knocked down rather than walk. The loathing which they have of mild and wholesome food, is attended with a kind of rage for every thing that is salted or spiced. Their legs swell, their breath is obstructed, and few of them survive this disorder. The greatest part die of suffocation, after having suffered and languished for several months.

The thickness of their blood, which appears to be the source of these disorders, may proceed from several causes. One of the principal, is, undoubtedly, the melancholy which must seize these men who are violently torn away from their country, are fettered like criminals, who find themselves all on a sudden on the sea, where they continue for two months or six weeks, and who, from the midst of a beloved family, pass under the yoke of an unknown people, from whom they expect the most dreadful punishments. A species of food, new to them, and disagreeable in itself, disgusts them in their passage. At their arrival in the islands, the provisions that are distributed to them, are neither good in quality, nor sufficient to support them. To complete their misery, several among them have contracted in Africa, the habit of eating a certain kind of earth,

earth, which gratified their taſte, without being in the leaſt hurtful to them: they ſeek for ſomething that reſembles this, and chance has thrown in their way a ſoft ſtone of a deep yellow, which totally ſpoils their ſtomach.

THE yaws, which is the ſecond diſorder peculiar to negroes, diſcovers itſelf by blotches that are dry, hard, callous, and round, ſometimes covered by the ſkin, but moſt commonly ulcerated, and ſprinkled, as it were, with a whitiſh flower intermixed with yellow. The yaws have been confounded with the venereal diſeaſe, becauſe the ſame remedy is proper for both. This opinion, though pretty general, has leſs to ſupport it, than at firſt ſight it appears to have.

ALL the negroes, as well male as female, who come from Guinea, or are born in the iſlands, have the yaws once in their lives: it is a diſeaſe they muſt neceſſarily paſs through; but there is no inſtance of any of them being attacked with it a ſecond time, after having been radically cured. The Europeans ſeldom or never catch this diſorder, notwithſtanding the frequent and daily connection which they have with the negro women. Theſe women ſuckle the children of the white people, but do not give them the yaws. How is it poſſible to reconcile theſe facts, which are inconteſtible, with the ſyſtem which phyſicians ſeem to have adopted with regard to the nature of the yaws? Can it not be allowed, that the ſemen, the blood, and ſkin of the negroes, are ſuſceptible of a virus peculiar to their

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their ſpecies? The cauſe of this diſorder, perhaps, is owing to that which occaſions their colour: one difference is naturally productive of another: and there is no being or quality that exiſts abſolutely detached from others in nature.

But whatever this diſorder may be, it is evident from the moſt accurate and undeniable calculations, that there dies every year in America, the ſeventh part of the blacks that are imported thither from Guinea. Fourteen hundred thouſand unhappy beings, who are now in the European colonies of the new world, are the unfortunate remains of nine millions of ſlaves that have been conveyed thither. This dreadful deſtruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the ſame as that of Africa, much leſs of the diſorders, to which, in the opinion of all obſervers, but few fall a ſacrifice. It muſt originate from the manner in which theſe ſlaves are governed: and might not an error of this nature be corrected?

In what manner the condition of ſlaves might be rendered more ſupportable.

The firſt ſtep neceſſary in this reformation would be to attend minutely to the natural and moral ſtate of man. Thoſe who go to purchaſe blacks on the coaſts of ſavage nations; thoſe who convey them to America, and eſpecially thoſe who direct their labours, often think themſelves obliged, from their ſituation, and frequently too for the ſake of their own ſafety, to oppreſs theſe wretched men. The ſoul of theſe managers of ſlaves, loſt to all ſenſe of compaſſion, is ignorant of every motive to enforce obedience, but thoſe of fear or ſeverity,

rity, and these they exercise with all the harshness of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of plantations would cease to regard the care of their slaves, as an occupation below them, and consider it as an office to which it is their duty to attend, they would soon discard these errors that arise from a spirit of cruelty. The history of all mankind would shew them, that in order to render slavery useful, it is, at least, necessary to make it easy; that force does not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the master's interest that the slave should be attached to life, and that nothing is to be expected from him the moment that he no longer fears to die.

This principle of enlightened reason, derived from the sentiments of humanity, would contribute to the reformation of several abuses. Men would acknowledge the necessity of lodging, cloathing, and giving proper food to beings condemned to the most painful bondage that ever has existed since the infamous origin of slavery. They would be sensible that it is naturally impossible that those who reap no advantage from their own labours, can have the same understanding, the same oeconomy, the same activity, the same strength as the man who enjoys the produce of his industry. That political moderation would gradually take place, which consists in lessening of labour, alleviating punishment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap with greater certainty the benefit of those duties that are imposed

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upon him. The preſervation of a great number of ſlaves, whom diſorders occaſioned by vexation or regret, deprive the colonies of, would be the natural conſequence of ſo wiſe a regulation. Far from aggravating the yoke that oppreſſes them, every kind of attention ſhould be given to make it eaſy, and to diſſipate even the idea of it, by favouring a natural taſte that ſeems peculiar to the negroes.

THEIR organs are extremely ſenſible of the powers of muſic. Their ear is ſo true, that in their dances, the time of a ſong makes them ſpring up a hundred at once, ſtriking the earth at the ſame inſtant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of a ſinger, or the tone of a ſtringed inſtrument, a vibration of the air is the ſpirit that actuates all the bodies of theſe men: a ſound agitates, tranſports, and throws them into extaſies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At all their employments they ſing, and ſeem always as if they were dancing. Muſic animates their courage, and rouzes them from their indolence. The marks of this extreme ſenſibility to harmony, are viſible in all the muſcles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and muſicians by nature, they make the words ſubſervient to the muſic, by a licence they arbitrarily aſſume of lengthening or ſhortening them, in order to accomodate them to an air that pleaſes them. Whenever any object or incident ſtrikes a negro, he inſtantly makes

it

it the ſubject of a ſong. In all ages this has been the orign of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the ſinger and the general chorus, ſometimes conſtitute the whole poem. Five or ſix bars of muſic compoſe the whole length of the ſong. A circumſtance that appears ſingular, is, that the ſame air, though merely a continual repetition of the ſame tones, takes entire poſſeſſion of them, makes them work or dance for ſeveral hours: neither they, nor even the white men, are diſguſted with that tedious uniformity which theſe repetitions might naturally occaſion. This particular attachment is owing to the warmth and expreſſion which they introduce into their ſongs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inſpire them with pride. Thoſe intended to excite tenderneſs, promote rather a kind of languor. Even thoſe which are moſt lively, carry in them a certain expreſſion of melancholy. This is the higheſt entertainment to minds of great ſenſibility. BOOK XI.

So ſtrong an inclination for muſic might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of ſkillful hands. Feſtivals, games and rewards might on this account be eſtabliſhed among them. Theſe amuſements, conducted with judgment, would prevent that ſtupidity ſo common among ſlaves, eaſe their labours, and preſerve them from that conſtant melancholy which conſumes them, and ſhortens their days. After having provided for the preſervation of the blacks exported from Afri-

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ca, the welfare of thoſe who are born in the iſlands themſelves would then be conſidered.

THE negroes are not averſe from the propagation of their ſpecies even in the chains of ſlavery. But it is the cruelty of the maſters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a ſhort time after delivery. Mothers, rendered deſperate by the puniſhments which the weakneſs of their condition occaſions them, ſnatch ſometimes their children from the cradle, in order to ſtrangle them in their arms, and ſacrifice them with a fury mingled with a ſpirit of revenge and compaſſion, that they may not become the property of their cruel maſters. This barbarity, the horror of which muſt be wholly imputed to the Europeans, will, perhaps, convince them of their error. Their ſenſibility will be rouzed, and engage them to pay a greater attention to their true intereſts. They will find that by committing ſuch outrages againſt humanity, they injure themſelves; and if they do not become the benefactors of their ſlaves, they will at leaſt ceaſe to be their executioners.

THEY will, perhaps, reſolve to ſet free thoſe mothers who ſhall have brought up a conſiderable number of children to the age of ſix years. The allurements of liberty are the moſt powerful that can influence the human heart. The negro women,

men, animated by the hope of so great a blessing, to which all would aspire, and few would be able to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be succeeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up children, whose number and preservation would secure to them freedom and tranquillity. BOOK XI.

After having taken wise measures not to deprive their plantations of those succours arising from the extraordinary fruitfulness of the negro women; they will attend to the care of conducting and extending cultivation by means of population, and without foreign expedients. Every thing invites them to establish this easy and natural system.

There are some powers, whose settlements in the American isles, every day acquire extent, and there are none whose manual labour does not continually increase. These lands, therefore, constantly require a greater number of hands to clear them. Africa, where all Europeans go to recruit the population of the colonies, gradually furnishes them with fewer men, and supplies them at the same time with worse slaves and at a higher price. This source for the obtaining slaves will be gradually more and more exhausted. But were this change in trade as chimerical, as it seems to be not far distant, it is nevertheless certain that a great number of slaves, drawn out of a remote region, perish in their passage, or in the new world; and that when they come to America they are sold at a very advanced price; that there are few of them whose natural term of life is not

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ſhortened; and that the greater part of thoſe who attain a wretched old age, are extremely ignorant, and being accuſtomed from their infancy to idleneſs, are frequently very unfit for the employments to which they are deſtined, and are in a continual ſtate of deſpondency, on account of their being ſeparated from their country. If we are not miſtaken in our opinion, cultivators born in the American iſlands themſelves, always breathing their native air, brought up without any other expence than what conſiſts in a cheap food, habituated in early life to labour by their own parents, endowed for a ſufficient ſhare of underſtanding, or a ſingular aptitude for all the uſeful arts; ſuch cultivators cannot but be preferable to ſlaves that have been ſold and live in a perpetual exile and reſtraint.

THE method of ſubſtituting in the place of foreign negroes thoſe of the colonies themſelves, is very obvious. It wholly conſiſts in ſuperintending the black children that are born in the iſlands, in confining to their workhouſes that multitude of ſlaves who carry about with them their worthleſſneſſes, their licentiouſneſs, and their luxury and inſolence of their maſters, in all the towns and ports of Europe; but above all, in requiring of navigators who frequent the African coaſts, that they ſhould form their cargo of an equal number of men and women, or even of a majority of women, during ſome years, in order to reduce that diſproportion which obtains between the two ſexes.

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This laſt precaution, by putting the pleaſures of love within the reach of all the blacks, would contribute to their eaſe and multiplication. Theſe unhappy men, forgetting the weight of their chains, would with tranſport ſee themſelves live again in their children. The majority of them are faithful, even to death, to thoſe negro women whom love and ſlavery have aſſigned to them for their companions; they treat them with that compaſſion which the wretched mutually derive from one another even in the rigour of their condition; they comfort them under the load of their employments; they ſympatize, at leaſt, with them, when, through exceſs of labour, or want of food, the mother can only offer her child a breaſt that is dry, or bathed in her tears. The women, on their part, though tied down to no reſtrictions of chaſtity, are fixed in their attachments; provided that the vanity of being beloved by white people does not render them inconſtant. Unhappily this is a temptation to infidelity, to which they have too often opportunities to yield.

Those who have inquired into the cauſes of this taſte for black women, which appears to be ſo depraved in the Europeans, have found it to ariſe from the nature of the climate, which under the torrid zone irreſiſtibly excites men to the pleaſures of love; the facility of gratifying this inſurmountable inclination without reſtraint, and without the trouble of a long purſuit; from a certain captivating attraction of beauty, diſcoverable in

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black women, as soon as custom hath once reconciled the eye to their colour; but principally from a warmth of constitution, which gives them the power of inspiring and returning the most ardent transports. Thus they revenge themselves, as is were, for the humiliating despondence of their condition, by the violent and immoderate passions which they excite in their masters; nor do our ladies, in Europe, possess in a more exalted degree the art of wasting and running out large fortunes than the negro women. But those of Africa have the superiority over those of Europe, in the real passion they have for the men who purchase them. The happy discovery and prevention of conspiracies that would have destroyed all their oppressors by the hands of their slaves, hath been often owing to the faithful attachment of these negro women. The double tyranny of these unworthy usurpers of the estates and liberty of such a number of people, deserved, doubtless, such a punishment.

Slavery is entirely repugnant to humanity, reason and justice.

We will not here so far debase ourselves as to enlarge the ignominious list of those writers who devote their abilities to justify by policy what morality condemns. In an age where so many errors are boldly laid open, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is interesteing to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath seemingly tended only to alleviate the burden of slavery, the reason is, that it was first necessary to give some comfort to those unhappy

happy beings, whom we cannot ſet free; and convince their oppreſſors that they are cruel to the prejudice of their real intereſts. But, in the mean time, until ſome conſiderable revolution ſhall make the evidence of this great truth felt, it may not be improper to purſue this ſubject further. We ſhall then firſt prove, that there is no reaſon of ſtate that can authoriſe ſlavery. We ſhall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reaſon and juſtice thoſe governments which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not aſhamed to make it the baſis of their power.



MONTESQUIEU could not prevail upon himſelf to treat the queſtion concerning ſlavery in a ſerious light. In reality it is degrading reaſon to employ it, I will not ſay in defending, but even in refuting an abuſe ſo repugnant to it. Whoever juſtifies ſo odious a ſyſtem, deſerves the utmoſt contempt from a philoſopher, and from the negro a ſtab with his dagger.

IF you touch me, ſaid Clariſſa to Lovelace, that moment I kill myſelf; and I would ſay to him, who attempted to deprive me of my liberty, if you approach me, I will ſtab you. In this caſe, I ſhould reaſon better than Clariſſa; becauſe, defending my liberty, or, which is the ſame thing, my life, is my primary duty; to regard that of another, is only a ſecondary conſideration; and if all other circumſtances were the ſame, the death of a criminal is more conformable to juſtice than that of an innocent perſon.

WILL

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Will it be ſaid, that he who wants to make me a ſlave does me no injury, but that he only makes uſe of his rights? Where are thoſe rights? Who hath ſtamped upon them ſo ſacred a character as to ſilence mine? From nature I hold the right of ſelf-defence; nature, therefore, has not given to another the right of attacking me. If thou thinkeſt thyſelf authoriſed to oppreſs me, becauſe thou art ſtronger and more ingenious than I am; do not complain if my vigorous arm ſhall plunge a dagger into thy breaſt; do not complain, when in thy tortured entrails thou ſhalt feel the pangs of death conveyed by poiſon into thy food: I am ſtronger and more ingenious than thou: fall a victim, therefore, in thy turn; and expiate the crime of having been an oppreſſor.

He who ſupports the ſyſtem of ſlavery is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two ſocieties of legal aſſaſſins; the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed. It is the ſame thing as proclaiming to the world, if you would preſerve your life, inſtantly take away mine, for I want to have yours.

But the right of ſlavery, you ſay, extends only to the right of labour and the privation of liberty, not of life. What! does not the maſter, who diſpoſes of my ſtrength at his pleaſure, likewiſe diſpoſe of my life, which depends on the voluntary and proper uſe of my faculties? What is exiſtence to him, who has not the diſpoſal of it? I cannot kill my ſlave; but I can make him bleed under

under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with ſorrows, drudgery and want; I can injure him every way, and ſecretly undermine the principles and ſprings of his life; I can ſmother by ſlow puniſhments, the wretched infant which a negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the ſlave againſt a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees.



Let us proceed a ſtep further: the right of ſlavery is that of perpetrating all ſorts of crimes: thoſe crimes which invade property; for ſlaves are not ſuffered to have any even in their own perſons: thoſe crimes which deſtroy perſonal ſafety; for the ſlave may be ſacrificed to the caprice of his maſter: thoſe crimes which make modeſty ſhudder.—My blood riſes at theſe horrid images. I deteſt, I abhor the human ſpecies, made up only of victims and executioners, and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

Further, that I may diſcloſe without reſerve my ſentiments on this ſubject. Cartouche, the highwayman, ſitting at the foot of a tree in a deep foreſt, calculating the profits and loſſes of his robberies, the rewards and pay of his aſſociates, and adjuſting with them the ideas of proportion and diſtributive juſtice; this Cartouche is not a very different character from that of the privateer, who, reclined on his counter, with his pen in his hand, ſettles the number of attacks which he can order to be made on the coaſts of Guinea; who de-

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deliberately examines how many firelocks each negro will coſt him, in order to ſupport the war which is to furniſh him with ſlaves; how many iron fetters to confine him aboard; how many whips to make him work: how much each drop of blood will be worth to him with which each negro will water his plantation: if the black woman will contribute more to his eſtate by the labours of her hands, or by thoſe of bearing children?—What think you of this parallel?—The highwayman attacks you, and takes your money; the trader carries off even your perſon. The one invades the rights of ſociety, the other, thoſe of nature. This certainly is the truth; and if there exiſted a religion which authoriſed, which tolerated, even by its ſilence, ſuch enormities; if, moreover, occupied by idle or factious queſtions, it did not eternally denounce vengeance againſt the authors or inſtruments of this tyranny; if it made it criminal for a ſlave to break his bonds; if it did not expel the unjuſt judge who condemns the fugitive to death; if ſuch a religion exiſted, its miniſters ought to be maſſacred under the ruins of their altars.

But theſe negroes, ſay they, are a race of men born for ſlavery; their diſpoſitions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themſelves allow the ſuperiority of our underſtandings, and almoſt acknowledge the juſtice of our authority.

The minds of the negroes are contracted; becauſe ſlavery deſtroys all the ſprings of the ſoul. They

They are wicked; but not ſufficiently ſo with you. They are treacherous, becauſe they are under no obligation to ſpeak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the ſuperiority of our underſtandings; becauſe we have abuſed their ignorance: they allow the juſtice of our authority, becauſe we have abuſed their weakneſs. I might as well ſay, that the Indians are a ſpecies of men born to be cruſhed to death; becauſe there are fanatics among them, who throw themſelves under the wheels of their idol's car before the temple of Jaguernat.

But theſe negroes, it is further urged, were born ſlaves. Barbarians, will you perſuade me, that a man can be the property of a ſovereign, a ſon the property of a father, a wife the property of a huſband, a domeſtic the property of a maſter, a negro the property of a planter?

But theſe ſlaves have ſold themſelves. Could a man ever by compact, or by an oath permit another to uſe and abuſe him? If he aſſented to this compact, or confirmed it by an oath, it was in a tranſport of ignorance or folly; and he is releaſed from it, the moment that he either knows himſelf, or his reaſon returns.

But they had been taken in war. What does this ſignify to you? Suffer the conqueror to make what ill uſe he pleaſes of his own victory. Why do you make yourſelves his accomplices?

But they were criminals condemned in their country to ſlavery. Who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a deſpotic ſtate there is no criminal but the tyrant.

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The ſubject of an abſolute prince is the ſame as the ſlave in a ſtate repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in ſuch a ſtate is an attempt againſt his perſon. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies: and all thoſe who are about him are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother, who taught him the firſt leſſons of obedience; his neighbour, who ſet him the example of it; his ſuperiors, who compelled him into this ſtate; and his equals, who led him into it by their opinion: all theſe are the miniſters and inſtruments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of himſelf; he is only the firſt mover of thoſe efforts which all his ſubjects exert to their own mutual oppreſſion. He keeps them in a ſtate of perpetual war, which renders robberies, treaſons, aſſaſſinations lawful. Thus, like the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate from his heart, and return thither as to their primary ſource. Caligula uſed to ſay, that if the whole human race had but one head, he ſhould have taken pleaſure in cutting it off. Socrates would have ſaid, that if all crimes were heaped upon one head, that ſhould be the one which ought to be ſtruck off.

Let us, therefore, endeavour to make the light of reaſon and the ſentiments of nature take place of the blind ferocity of our anceſtors. Let us break the bonds of ſo many victims to our mercenary principles, ſhould we even be obliged to diſ-

card

card a commerce which is founded only on injuſtice, and whoſe object is luxury. BOOK XI.

But even this is not neceſſary. There is no occaſion to give up thoſe conveniencies which cuſtom hath ſo much endeared to us. We may draw them from our colonies, without peopling them with ſlaves. Theſe productions may be cultivated by the hands of freemen, and then be reaped without remorſe.

The iſlands are filled with blacks, whoſe fetters have been broken. They ſucceſſively clear the ſmall plantations that have been given them, or which they have acquired by their induſtry. Such of theſe unhappy men, as ſhould recover their independence, would live in quiet upon the ſame manual labours, that would be then free and advantageous to them. The vaſſals of Denmark, who have lately been made free, have not abandoned their ploughs.

Is it then apprehended, that the facility of acquiring ſubſiſtence without labour, on a ſoil naturally fertile, and of diſpenſing with the want of cloaths, would plunge theſe men in idleneſs? Why then do not the inhabitants of Europe confine themſelves to ſuch labours as are of indiſpenſable neceſſity? Why do they exhauſt their powers in laborious employments which tend only to the ſenſual gratifications of a frivolous imagination? There are amongſt us a thouſand profeſſions, ſome more laborious than others, which owe their origin to our inſtitutions. Human laws have

BOOK XI. have given rise to a variety of factitious wants, which otherwise would never have had an existence. By disposing of every species of property according to their capricious institutions, they have subjected an infinite number of people to the imperious will of their fellow-creatures, so far as even to make them sing and dance for subsistence. We have amongst us beings, formed like ourselves, who have consented to inter themselves under mountains, to furnish us with metals and with copper, perhaps to poison us: why do we imagine that the negroes are less dupes and less foolish than the Europeans?

At the time that we gradually confer liberty on these unhappy beings as a reward for their œconomy, their good behaviour, and their industry, we must be careful to subject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our superfluities. We must give them a country, give them interests to study, productions to cultivate, and an object adequate to their respective tastes, and our colonies will never want hands, which being eased of their chains, will be more active and robust.

In order to overturn the whole system of slavery, which is supported by passions so universal, by laws so authentic, by the emulation of such powerful nations, by prejudices still more powerful, to what tribunal shall we refer the cause of humanity, which so many men are in confederacy to betray? Sovereigns of the earth, you alone can bring

bring about this revolution. If you do not ſport with the reſt of mortals, if you do not regard the power of kings as the right of a ſucceſsful plunder, and the obedience of ſubjects as artfully obtained from their ignorance, reflect on your own obligations. Refuſe the ſanction of your authority to the infamous and criminal traffic of men turned into ſo many herds of cattle, and this trade will ceaſe. For once unite for the happineſs of the world, thoſe powers and deſigns which have been ſo often exerted for its ruin. If ſome one among you would venture to found the expectation of this opulence and grandeur on the generoſity of all the reſt, he inſtantly becomes an enemy of mankind, who ought to be deſtroyed. You may carry fire and ſword into his territories. Your armies will ſoon be inſpired with the ſacred enthuſiaſm of humanity. You will then perceive what difference virtue makes between men who ſuccour the oppreſſed, and mercenaries who ſerve tyrants.

But what am I ſaying? Let the ineffectual calls of humanity be no longer pleaded with the people and their maſters: perhaps, they have never been attended to in any public tranſactions. If then, ye nations of Europe, intereſt alone can exert its influence over you, liſten to me once more. Your ſlaves ſtand in no need either of your generoſity or your counſels, in order to break the ſacrilegious yoke of their oppreſſion. Nature ſpeaks a more powerful language than philoſophy, or in-

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tereſt. Some white people already maſſacred, have expiated a part of our crimes; already have two colonies of fugitive negroes been eſtabliſhed, to whom treaties and power give a perfect ſecurity from your attempts. Poiſon hath at different times been the inſtrument of their vengeance. Several have eluded your oppreſſion by a voluntary death. Theſe enterpriſes are ſo many indications of the impending ſtorm; and the negroes only want a chief, ſufficiently courageous, to lead them to vengeance and ſlaughter.

WHERE is this great man to be found, whom nature, perhaps, owes to the honour of the human ſpecies? Where is this new Spartacus, who will not find a Craſſus? Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* will be a dreadful one, if the conqueror only regards the right of repriſals.

TILL this revolution takes place, the negroes groan under the yoke of oppreſſion, the deſcription of which cannot but intereſt us more and more in their deſtiny.

Labours of ſlaves.

THE ſoil of the American iſlands hath little reſemblance to ours. Its productions are very different, as well as the manner of cultivating them. Except ſome pot-herbs, nothing is ſown there; every thing is planted.

TOBACCO being the firſt production that was cultivated, as its roots do not ſtrike deep, and the leaſt injury deſtroys them, a ſimple harrow was only employed to prepare the lands which were

to

to receive it, and to extirpate the noxious weeds which would have choaked it. This cuſtom ſtill prevails. BOOK XI.

When more troubleſome cultures began to be attended to, which were more delicate, the hoe was made uſe of to work and weed; but it was not employed over the whole extent of ground that was to be cultivated. It was thought ſufficient to dig a hole for the reception of the plant.

The inequality of the ground, moſt commonly full of hillocks, probably gave riſe to this cuſtom. It might be apprehended, that the rains, which always fall in torrents, ſhould deſtroy by the cavities they make, the land that had been turned up. Indolence, and the want of means at the time of the firſt ſettlements extended this practice to the moſt level plains, and cuſtom which no one ever thought of deviating from, gave a ſanction to it. At length ſome planters, who were adventurous enough to diſcard former prejudices, thought of uſing the plough, and it is probable, that this method will become general wherever it ſhall be found practicable. It has every circumſtance in its favour that can make it deſirable.

All the lands of the iſlands were virgin lands, when the Europeans undertook to clear them. The firſt that were occupied, have for a long time yielded leſs produce than they did in the beginning. Thoſe which have been ſucceſſively cleared, are likewiſe more or leſs exhauſted, in proportion to the period of their firſt cultivation.

BOOK XI. Whatever their fertility at firſt might have been, they all loſe it in proceſs of time, and they will ſoon ceaſe to requite the labours of thoſe who cultivate them, if art is not exerted to aſſiſt nature.

It is a principle of agriculture generally admitted by naturaliſts, that the earth becomes fertile only in proportion as it can receive the influence of the air, and of all thoſe meteors which are directed by this powerful agent, ſuch as fogs, dews, and rains. Continual labour can only procure this advantage to it: the iſlands in particular conſtantly require it. The wet ſeaſon muſt be choſen for turning up the ground, the dryneſs of which would be an impediment to fertility. Ploughing cannot be attended with any inconvenience in lands that are level. One might prevent the danger of having ſhelving grounds deſtroyed by ſtorms, by making furrows tranſverſely, on a line that ſhould croſs that of the ſlope of the hillocks. If the declivity were ſo ſteep that the cultivated grounds could be carried away, notwithſtanding the furrows, ſmall drains, ſomething deeper, might be added for the ſame purpoſe at particular diſtances, which would partly break the force and velocity that the ſteepneſs of the hills adds to the fall of heavy rains.

The utility of the plough would not be merely limitted to the producing a greater portion of the vegetable juice in plants; it would make their produce the more certain. The iſlands are the regions of inſects: their multiplication there is favoured

voured by a conſtant heat, and one race ſucceeds another without interruption. The extenſive ravages they make are well known. Frequent and ſucceſſive ploughing would check the progreſs of this devouring race, diſturb their reproduction, would kill great numbers of them, and deſtroy the greateſt part of their eggs. Perhaps, this expedient would not be ſufficient againſt the rats which ſhips have brought from Europe into America, where they have increaſed to that degree, that they often deſtroy one third of the crops. The induſtry of ſlaves might alſo be made uſe of, and their vigilance might be encouraged by ſome gratification.



The uſe of the plough would probably introduce the cuſtom of manuring; it is already known on the greateſt part of the coaſt. The manure there in uſe is called varech, a kind of ſea plant, which when ripe, is detached from the water, and driven on the ſtrand by the motion of the waves: it is very productive of fertility, but if employed without previous preparation, it communicates to the ſugar a diſagreeable bitterneſs, which muſt ariſe from the ſalts that are impregnated with oily particles abounding in ſea plants. Perhaps, in order to take off this bitter taſte, it would only be neceſſary to burn the plant and make uſe of the aſhes. The ſalts being by this operation detached from the oily particles, and triturated by vegetation, would circulate more freely in the ſugar-cane, and impart to it purer juices.

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THE interior parts of this country have not till lately been dunged. Neceſſity will make this practice become more general; and in time the ſoil of America will be aſſiſted by the ſame methods of cultivation as the ſoil of Europe; but with more difficulty. In the iſlands where herds of cattle are not ſo numerous, and where there is ſeldom the convenience of ſtables, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to other kinds of manure, and multiply them as much as poſſible, in order to compenſate the quality by the quantity. The greateſt reſource will always be found in the weeds, from which uſeful plants muſt be conſtantly freed. Theſe muſt be collected together in heaps, and left to putrify. The coloniſts who cultivate coffee, have ſet the example of this practice; but with that degree of indolence which the heat of the climate occaſions in all manual labour. A pile of weeds is heaped up at the bottom of the coffee trees, without regarding whether theſe weeds, which they do not even take the trouble of covering with earth, heat the tree, and harbour the inſects that prey upon it. They have been equally negligent in the management of their cattle.

ALL the domeſtic quadrupeds of Europe were imported into America by the Spaniards; and it is from their ſettlements that the colonies of other nations have been ſupplied. Excepting hogs, which are found to thrive beſt in countries abounding with aquatic productions, inſects and reptiles, and are become larger and better taſted, all theſe animals

mals have degenerated, and the few that remain in the iſlands, are very ſmall. Though the badneſs of the climate may contribute ſomething to this degeneracy, the want of care is, perhaps, the principal cauſe. They always lie in the open field. They never have either bran or oats given them, and are at graſs the whole year. The coloniſts have not even the attention of dividing the meadows into ſeparate portions, in order to make their cattle to paſs from one into the other. They always feed on the ſame ſpot, without allowing the graſs time to ſpring up again. Such paſtures can only produce weak and watery juices. Too quick a vegetation prevents them from being properly ripened. Hence the animals, deſtined for the food of man, afford only fleſh that is tough and flabby.



Those animals, which are reſerved for labour, do but very little ſervice. The oxen draw but light loads, and that not all day long. They are always four in number. They are not yoked by the head, but by the neck, after the Spaniſh cuſtom. They are not ſtimulated by the goad, but driven by a whip; and are directed by two drivers.

When the roads do not allow the uſe of carriages, mules are employed inſtead of oxen. Theſe are ſaddled after a ſimpler method than in Europe, but much inferior to it in ſtrength. A mat is fixed on their back, to which two hooks are ſuſpended on each ſide, the firſt that are caſually met with in the woods. Thus equipped, they carry, at moſt,

BOOK XI. half the weight that European horſes can bear, and go over but half the ground in the ſame time.

THE pace of their horſes is not ſo ſlow: they have preſerved ſomething of the fleetneſs, fire, and docility of thoſe of Andaluſia, from which they derived their pedigree; but their ſtrength is not anſwerable to their ſpirit. It is neceſſary to breed a great number of them, in order to obtain that ſervice from them which might be had from a ſmaller number in Europe. Three or four of them muſt be harnaſſed to very light carriages uſed by indolent people for making excurſions, which they call journeys, but which with us would only be an airing.

THE degeneracy of the animals in the iſlands might have been prevented, retarded, or diminiſhed, if care had been taken to renew them by a foreign race. Stallions brought from colder or warmer countries, would in ſome degree have corrected the influence of the climate, feed, and rearing. With the mares of the country they would have produced a new race far ſuperior, as they would have come from a climate different from that into which they were imported.

IT is very extraordinary, that ſo ſimple an idea ſhould never have occurred to any of the planters; and that there has been no legiſlature attentive enough to its intereſts, to ſubſtitute in its ſettlements the biſon to the common ox. Every one who is acquainted with this animal, muſt recollect that the biſon has a ſofter and brighter ſkin, a diſ-

poſition

poſition leſs dull and ſtupid than our bullock, and a quickneſs and docility far ſuperior. It is ſwift in running, and when mounted can ſupply the place of a horſe. It thrives as well in ſouthern countries, as the ox that we employ loves cold or temperate climates. This ſpecies is only known in the eaſtern iſlands, and in the greater part of Africa. If cuſtom had leſs influence than it commonly has, even over the wiſeſt governments, they would have been ſenſible, that this uſeful animal was ſingularly well adapted to the great Archipelago of America, and that it would be very eaſy to export it a very ſmall expence from the Gold Coaſt, or the coaſt of Angola.

Two rich planters, one in Barbadoes, the other in St. Domingo, equally ſtruck with the weakneſs of thoſe animals, which, according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, were employed in drawing and carrying, endeavoured to ſubſtitute the camel to them. This experiment, formerly tried without ſucceſs in Peru by the Spaniards, did not ſucceed better here, nor was it poſſible it ſhould. It is well known, that though a native of hot countries, it dreads exceſſive heat, and can as little thrive as propagate under the burning ſky of the torrid zone, as in the temperate ones. It would have been better to have tried the buffalo.

The buffalo is a very dirty animal, and of a fierce diſpoſition. Its caprices are ſudden and frequent. Its ſkin is firm, light, and almoſt impenetrable, and its horn ſerviceable for many purpoſes.

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poſes. Its fleſh is black and hard, and diſagreeable to the taſte and ſmell. The milk of the female is not ſo ſweet, but much more copious than that of the cow. Reared like the ox, to which it has a ſtriking reſemblance, it greatly ſurpaſſes it in ſtrength and ſwiftneſs. Two buffaloes, yoked to a waggon by means of a ring paſſed through their noſe, will draw as much as four of the ſtouteſt bullocks, and in leſs than half the time. They owe this double ſuperiority to the advantage of having longer legs, and a more conſiderable bulk of body, the whole power of which is employed in drawing, becauſe they naturally carry their head and neck low. As this animal is originally a native of the torrid zone, and is larger, ſtronger and more manageable in proportion to the heat of the country it is in, it cannot ever have been doubted that it would have been of great ſervice in the Caribbee iſlands and propagate happily there. This is highly probable, eſpecially ſince the ſucceſsful experiments that have been made of it at Guiana.

INDOLENCE, and old eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, which have hindered the propagation of domeſtic animals, have no leſs impeded the ſucceſs of tranſplanting vegetables. Several kinds of fruit-trees have been ſucceſſively carried to the iſlands. Thoſe that have not died, are ſome wild ſtocks, whoſe fruit is neither beautiful nor good. The greateſt part have degenerated very faſt, becauſe they have been expoſed to a very ſtrong vegetation, ever lively, and conſtantly quickened by the copious

dews

dews of the night, and the ſtrong heats of the day, which are the two grand principles of fertility. Perhaps, an intelligent obſerver would have known how to profit from theſe circumſtances, and have been able to raiſe tolerable fruit; but ſuch men are not found in the colonies. If our kitchen herbs have ſucceeded better; if they are always ſpringing up again, ever green, and ripe; the reaſon is, that they had not to ſtruggle againſt the climate, where they were aſſiſted by a moiſt and clammy earth, which is proper for them; and becauſe they required no trouble. The labour of the ſlaves is employed in the cultivation of more uſeful productions.

The principal labours of theſe unhappy men are directed towards thoſe objects that are indiſpenſable to the preſervation of their wretched exiſtence. Except in the iſlands that are occupied by the Spaniards, where things are very nearly in the ſame ſtate as they were at the arrival of the Europeans in the new world, thoſe productions, which were ſufficient for the ſavages, have diminiſhed in proportion as they have deſtroyed the foreſts, in order to form plantations. It was neceſſary to procure other means of ſubſiſtence, and moſt of theſe that were wanted, have been drawn from the country itſelf of the new-comers.

Africa has furniſhed the iſlands with a ſhrub, which grows to the height of four feet, lives four years, and is uſeful throughout its whole duration. It bears huſks, which contain five or ſix grains

of

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of a ſpecies of a very wholeſome and very nouriſhing pea. Every part belonging to this ſhrub is remarkable for ſome particular virtue. Its bloſſom is good for a cough; its leaves when boiled are applied to wounds, and of the aſhes of this plant is made a lixivium, which cleanſes ulcers and diſſipates the external inflammations of the ſkin. This ſhrub is called the Angola pea. It flouriſhes equally in lands naturally barren, and in thoſe whoſe ſalts have been exhauſted. For this reaſon, the beſt managers among the coloniſts never fail to ſow it on all thoſe parts of their eſtates, which in other hands would remain uncultivated.

THE moſt valuable preſent, however, which the iſlands have received from Africa, is the manioc. Moſt hiſtorians have conſidered this plant as a native of America. It does not appear on what foundation this opinion is ſupported, though pretty generally received. But were the truth of it demonſtrated, the Caribbee iſlands would yet ſtand indebted for the manioc to the Europeans, who imported it thither along with the Africans, who fed upon it. Before our invaſions, the intercourſe between the continent of America and theſe iſles, was ſo trifling, that a production of the Terra Firma might be unknown in the Archipelago of the Antilles. It is certain, however, that the ſavages who offered our firſt navigators bananas, yams, and potatoes, offered them no manioc; that the Caribs in Dominica and St. Vincent, had it from us; that the character of the ſavages did not

not render them fit to conduct a culture requiring so much attention; that this culture can only be carried on in very open fields, and that in the forests, with which these islands were overgrown, there were no clear and unincumbered spaces of ground above five and twenty toises square. In short, it is beyond a doubt, that the use of the manioc was not known till after the arrival of the negroes, and that from time immemorial it hath constituted the principal food of a great part of Africa.



However this may be, the manioc is a plant which is propagated by slips. It is set in furrows that are five or six inches deep, which are filled with the same earth that has been digged out. These furrows are at the distance of two feet, or two feet and a half from each other, according to the nature of the ground. The shrub rises a little above six feet, and its trunk is about the thickness of the arm. In proportion as it grows, the lower leaves fall off, and only a few remain towards the top; its wood is tender and brittle.

This is a delicate plant; whose cultivation is troublesome; and the vicinity of all sorts of grass is prejudicial to it. It requires a dry and light soil; its fruit is at its root, and if this root is shaken by the motion the wind gives to the body of the plant, the fruit is formed but imperfectly. It takes eighteen months before it grows to maturity.

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It is not rendered fit for human food till after it has undergone a tedious preparation. Its firſt ſkin muſt be ſcraped: it muſt be waſhed, raſped and preſſed, to extract the aqueous parts which are a ſlow poiſon, againſt which there is no remedy known. The roaſting of it cauſes every noxious particle it might ſtill contain, totally to evaporate. When there appears no more ſteam, it is taken off the iron plate, on which it was roaſted, and ſuffered to cool. Repeated experiments have ſhewn, that it was almoſt as dangerous to eat it hot as to eat it raw.

The root of the manioc grated, and reduced into little grains by roaſting, is called flour of manioc. The paſte of manioc is called caſſava, which hath been converted into a cake by roaſting without moving it. It would be dangerous to eat as much caſſava as flour of manioc, becauſe the former is leſs roaſted. Both keep a long time, and are very nouriſhing, but a little difficult of digeſtion. Though this food ſeems at firſt inſipid, there are a great number of white people, who have been born in theſe iſlands, who prefer it to the beſt wheat. All the Spaniards in general uſe it conſtantly. The French feed their ſlaves with it. The other European nations, who have ſettlements in the iſlands, are little acquainted with the manioc. It is from North America that theſe colonies receive their ſubſiſtence; ſo that if by any accident, which may very poſſibly take place, their connections with this fertile country were interrupted

rupted but for four months, they would be expoſed to periſh by famine. An avidity that hath no bounds, makes the coloniſts of the iſlands inſenſible of this imminent danger. All, at leaſt the greater part, find their advantage in turning the whole induſtry of their ſlaves towards thoſe productions which are the objects of commerce. The principal of theſe are, cocoa, cotton, indigo, and coffee. We ſhall elſewhere ſpeak of their cultivation, value and deſtination; and at preſent conſider only the cultivation of ſugar, whoſe produce alone is more important than that of all the other commodities.

THE cane that yields the ſugar, is a kind of reed, which commonly riſes eight or nine feet, including the leaves growing out of the top of it. Its moſt ordinary thickneſs is from two to four inches. It is covered with a hardiſh rind, which incloſes a ſpungy ſubſtance. It is interſected at intervals with joints, that ſerve as it were to ſtrengthen and ſupport it; but without impeding the circulation of the ſap, becauſe theſe joints are ſoft and pithy in the inſide.

THIS plant hath been cultivated from the earlieſt antiquity in ſome countries of Aſia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became known in Sicily, from whence it paſſed into the ſouthern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards tranſplanted into Madeira and the Canaries. From theſe iſlands it was brought in the new world, where

BOOK XI. where it ſucceeded as well as if it had been originally a native of it.

ALL ſoils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and ſtrong, low and marſhy, environed with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice that is aqueous, inſipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified and preſerved. Canes planted in a ground where they ſoon meet with ſoft ſtone or rock, have but a very ſhort duration, and yield but little ſugar. A light, porous, and deep ſoil, is by nature moſt favourable to this production.

THE general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field, to make at the diſtance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and ſix deep; to lay in theſe, two, and ſometimes three ſlips of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the ſlips iſſues a ſtem, which in time becomes a ſugar-cane.

CARE ſhould be taken to clear it conſtantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for ſix months. The canes then are ſufficiently thick and near one another to deſtroy every thing that might be prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly ſuffered to grow eighteen months, and are ſeldom cut at any other time.

FROM the ſtock of theſe, iſſue ſuckers, which are in their turn cut fifteen months after. This

ſecond

ſecond cutting yields only half of the produce of the firſt. The planters ſometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always ſucceſſively leſs, however good the ſoil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands for planting afreſh can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane.

THESE crops are not made in all the colonies at the ſame time. In the Daniſh, Spaniſh and Dutch ſettlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method does not imply any fixed ſeaſon for the maturity of the ſugar cane. The plant, however, like others, muſt have its progreſs; and it has been juſtly obſerved to be in flower in the months of November and December. It muſt neceſſarily follow from the cuſtom theſe nations have adopted of continuing to gather their crops for ten months without intermiſſion, that they cut ſome canes which are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit has not the requiſite qualities. The time of gathering them ſhould be at a fixed ſeaſon, and probably the months of March and April are the fitteſt for it; becauſe all the ſweet fruits are ripe at that time, while the ſour ones do not arrive to a ſtate of maturity till the months of July and Auguſt.

THE Engliſh cut their canes in March and April; but they are not induced to do this on account of their ripeneſs. The drought that prevails in their iſlands renders the rains which fall in September neceſſary to their planting; and as the

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canes are eighteen months in growing, this period always brings them to the precise point of maturity.

In order to extract the juice of the canes, when cut, which ought to be done in four and twenty hours, otherwise it would turn sour, they are passed between two cylinders of iron, or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The motion of the cylinders is regulated by an horizontal wheel turned by oxen, or horses; but in water-mills this horizontal wheel derives its movement from a perpendicular one, whose circumference meeting a current of water, receives an impression which turns it upon its axis: this motion is from right to left, if the current of water strikes the upper part of the wheel; from left to right, if the current strikes the lower part.

From the reservoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler where those particles of water are made to evaporate that are most easily separated. This liquor is poured into another boiler, where a moderate fire makes it throw up its first scum. When it has lost its clammy consistence it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more scum by means of an increased degree of heat. It then receives the last boiling in a fourth cauldron whose fire is three times stronger than the first.

This last fire determines the success of the process. If it hath been well managed, the sugar forms crystals that are larger or smaller, more or less

leſs bright, in proportion to the greater or leſs quantity of oil they abound with. If the fire hath been too violent, the ſubſtance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract which cannot produce any more eſſential ſalt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a conſiderable quantity of extraneous oils, which diſtinguiſh the ſugar, and render it thick and blackiſh; ſo that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, becauſe the ſpaces which theſe oils filled up, remain empty.



As ſoon as the ſugar is cool, it is poured into earthen veſſels of a conic figure; the baſe of the cone is open, and its top has a hole, through which the water is carried off that has not formed any cryſtals. This is called the ſyrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw ſugar remains, which is rich, brown and ſalt.

The greateſt part of the iſlands leave to the Europeans the care of giving ſugar the other preparations which are neceſſary to make it fit for uſe. This practice ſpares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more negroes to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ſhips for exportation.

The French planters alone have thought it their intereſt to manage their ſugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactneſs the juice of the ſugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains

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mains an infinite number of foreign particles attached to the ſalts of the ſugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. Theſe give it a dead colour, and the taſte of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This conſiſts in putting again the raw ſugars into a new earthen veſſel, in every reſpect ſimilar to that we have mentioned. The ſurface of the ſugar, throughout the whole extent of the baſis of the cone, is then covered with a white marl, on which water is poured. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of a calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different ſaline particles, when this earth meets with oily ſubſtances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening at the top of the mould, and a ſecond ſyrup is procured, which they call molaſſes, and which is ſo much the worſe, in proportion as the ſugar was finer; that is, contained leſs extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, diſſolved by the water, paſſes alone, and carries with it all its acrid particles.

THIS earthing is followed by the laſt preparation, which is effected by fire, and ſerves for the evaporating of the moiſture with which the ſalts are impregnated, during the proceſs of earthing. In order to do this, the ſugar is taken in its whole form out of the conical veſſel of earth, and conveyed into a ſtove which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat, where it is left till

till the ſugar is become very dry, which commonly happens at the end of three weeks. BOOK XI.

THOUGH the expence which this proceſs requires, is in general uſeleſs, ſince the earthed ſugar is commonly refined in Europe in the ſame manner as the raw ſugar; all the inhabitants of the French iſlands, however, who are able to purify their ſugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whoſe navy is weak, this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables it in times of war, to convey into its own mother country the moſt valuable cargoes with a leſs number of ſhips than if only raw ſugars were prepared.

ONE may judge from theſe ſpecies of ſugars, but much better from that, which has undergone the earthing, of what ſort of ſalts it is compoſed. If the ſoil, where the cane hath been planted, is hard, ſtony and ſloping, the ſalts will be white, angular, and the grain very large. If the ſoil is marly, the colour will be the ſame; but the granulations, being cut on fewer ſides, will reflect leſs light. If the ſoil is rich and ſpungy, the granulations will be nearly ſpherical, the colour will be duſky, the ſugar will ſlip under the finger, without any unequal feel. This laſt kind of ſugar is conſidered as the worſt.

WHATEVER may be the reaſon, thoſe places that have a northern aſpect produce the beſt ſugar; and marly grounds yield the greateſt quantity. The preparations which the ſugar that grows in

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theſe kinds of ſoil require, are leſs tedious and troubleſome than thoſe which the ſugar requires that is produced in a rich land. But theſe obſervations admit of infinite variety, whoſe inveſtigation is properly the province of chymiſts, or ſpeculative planters.

BESIDES ſugar, the cane furniſhes ſyrup, whoſe value is only a twelfth of that of the price of ſugars. The beſt ſyrup is that which runs from the firſt veſſel into the ſecond, when the raw ſugar is made. It is compoſed of the groſſer particles which carry along with them the ſalts of ſugar, whether it contains or ſeparates them in its paſſage. The ſyrup of an inferior kind, which is more bitter, and leſs in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the ſugar when it is waſhed. By means of fire, ſome ſugar is beſides extracted from the firſt ſyrup, which, after this operation, is of leſs value than the ſecond.

BOTH theſe kinds are carried into the north of Europe, where the people uſe them inſtead of butter and ſugar. In North America they make the ſame uſe of them, where they are further employed to give fermentation and an agreeable taſte to a liquor called *Pruſs*, which is only an infuſion of the bark of a tree.

THIS ſyrup is ſtill more uſeful, by the ſecret that has been diſcovered of converting it by diſtillation, into a ſpirituous liquor which the Engliſh call *Rum*, and the French *Taffia*. This proceſs, which

which is very ſimple, is made by mixing a third part of ſyrup with two-thirds of water. When theſe two ſubſtances have ſufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean ſtill, where the diſtillation is made as uſual. The liquor that is drawn off is equal to the quantity of the ſyrup employed.

Such is the method which, after many experiments and variations, all the iſlands have generally purſued in the cultivation of ſugar. It is undoubtedly a good one; but, perhaps, it hath not acquired that degree of perfection of which it is capable. If inſtead of planting canes in large fields, the ground were parcelled out into diviſions of ſixty feet, leaving between two planted diviſions a ſpace of land uncultivated, ſuch a method would probably be attended with great advantages. In the modern practice, none but the canes which grow on the borders are good, and attain to a proper degree of maturity. Thoſe in the middle of the field in part miſcarry, and ripen badly, becauſe they are deprived of a current of air, which only acts by its weight, and ſeldom gets to the foot of theſe canes that are always covered with the leaves.

In this new ſyſtem of plantation, thoſe portions of land which had not been cultivated would be moſt favourable for reproduction; when the crops of the planted diviſions had been made, which in their turn would be left to recover. It is

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probable that by this method as much ſugar might be obtained as by the preſent practice; with this additional advantage, that it would require fewer ſlaves to cultivate it. One may judge what the cultivation of ſugar would then produce, by what it now yields notwithſtanding its imperfections.

On a plantation fixed on a good ground, and ſufficiently ſtocked with blacks, with cattle, and all other neceſſaries, two men will cultivate a ſquare of canes, that is, a hundred geometrical paces in every direction. This ſquare muſt yield on an average ſixty quintals of raw ſugar. The common price of a quintal in Europe will be twenty livres*, after deducting all the expences. This makes an income of 600 livres†, for the labour of each man. One hundred and fifty livres‡, to which the price of ſyrup and Rum muſt be added, will defray the expences of cultivation; that is to ſay, for the maintenance of ſlaves, for their loſs, their diſorders, their clothes, and repairing their utenſils, and other accidents. The net produce of an acre and half of land will then be four hundred and fifty livres §. It would be difficult to find a culture productive of greater emoluments.

It may be objected, that this is ſtating the produce below its real value, becauſe a ſquare of canes does not employ two men. But thoſe who would urge ſuch an objection ought to obſerve, that the making of ſugar requires other labours beſide thoſe of

* 17s. 6d. † 26l. 5s. ‡ 6l. 11s. 3d. § 19l 13s. 9d.

of merely cultivating it, and consequently workmen employed elsewhere than in the fields. The estimate and compensation of these different kinds of service, oblige us to deduct from the produce of a square of plantation, the expence of maintaining two men.

It is chiefly from the produce of sugar that the islands supply their planters with all the articles of convenience and luxury. They draw from Europe flour, liquors, salt provisions, silks, linens, hardware; and every thing that is necessary for apparel, food, furniture, ornament, convenience and even luxury. Their consumptions of every kind are prodigious, and must necessarily influence the manners of the inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are rich enough to support them.

Character of the Europeans settled in the American islands.

It should seem that the Europeans, who have been transplanted into the American islands, must no less have degenerated than the animals which they carried over thither. The climate acts on all living beings; but men being less immediately subject to the laws of nature, resist her influence the more, because they are the only beings, who act for themselves. The first colonists, who settled in the Antilles, corrected the activity of a new climate, and a new soil, by the conveniencies which it was in their power to derive from a commerce that was always open with their former country. They learnt to lodge and maintain themselves in a manner the best adapted to their change of situation. They retained the customs of

their

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their education, and every thing that could agree with the natural effects of the air they breathed. With these they carried into America the food and customs of Europe, and familiarised to each other beings and productions which nature had separated by an interval of the same extent as a Zone. But of all the primitive customs, the most salutary, perhaps, was that of mingling and dividing the two races by intermarriages.

All nations, even the least civilized, have proscribed an union of sexes between the children of the same family; whether it was, that experience or prejudice dictated this law, or chance led them to it. Beings brought up together in infancy, accustomed to see one another continually, in this mutual familiarity, rather contract that indifference which arises from habit, than that lively and impetuous sensation of sympathy, which suddenly affects two beings, who never saw one another. If in the savage life hunger disunites families, love undoubtedly must have reunited them. The history, whether true or fabulous, of the rape of the Sabine women, shews that marriage was the first alliance between nations. Thus the blood will have become gradually intermixed either by the casual meetings occasioned by a wandering life, or by the conventions and agreements of settled communities. The natural advantage of crossing the breed among men as well as animals, in order to preserve the species from degenerating, is the result of slow experience, and is posterior to the acknowledged utility

utility of uniting families, in order to cement the peace of ſociety. Tyrants ſoon diſcovered how far it was proper for them to ſeparate, or connect their ſubjects, in order to keep them in a ſtate of dependence. They formed men into ſeparate ranks by availing themſelves of their prejudices: becauſe this line of diviſion between them became a bond of ſubmiſſion to the ſovereign, who maintained his authority by their mutual hatred and oppoſition. They connected families to each other in every ſtation, becauſe this union totally extinguiſhed every ſpark of diſſention repugnant to the ſpirit of civil ſociety. Thus the intermixture of pedigrees and families by marriage, has been rather the reſult of political inſtitutions, than formed upon the views of nature.

But whatever be the natural principle and moral tendency of this cuſtom, it was adopted by Europeans, who were deſirous of multiplying in the iſlands. The greateſt part of them either married in their own country, before they removed into the new world, or with thoſe who landed there. The European married a Creole, or the Creole an European, whom chance or family connections brought into America. From this happy aſſociation hath been formed a peculiar character, which in the two worlds diſtinguiſhes the man born under the ſky of the new, from parents originally natives of both. The marks of this character will be pointed out with ſo much the more certainty, as they are taken from the writ-

BOOK XI. ings of an accurate obſerver, from whom we have already drawn ſome particulars reſpecting natural hiſtory.

THE Creoles are in general well made. There is ſcarce a ſingle perſon among them afflicted with thoſe deformities which are ſo common in other climates. They have all an extreme ſuppleneſs in their limbs; whether it is to be attributed to a particular organization adapted to hot countries, to the cuſtom of their being reared without the confinement of ſwaddling cloaths, and ſtays, or to the exerciſes they are habituated to from their infancy. Their complexion, however, never has that air of vivacity and freſhneſs which contributes more to beauty than regular features do. As to their colour, when they are in health, it reſembles that of perſons juſt recovering from a fit of illneſs; but this livid complexion, more or leſs dark, is nearly that of our ſouthern people.

THEIR intrepidity in war has been ſignalized by a ſeries of bold actions. There would be no better ſoldiers, if they were more capable of being diſciplined.

HISTORY does not afford any of thoſe inſtances of cowardice, treachery and meanneſs among them, which ſully the annals of all nations. It can hardly be alledged, that a Creole ever did a mean action.

ALL ſtrangers, without exception, find in the iſlands, the moſt friendly and generous hoſpitality. This uſeful virtue is practiſed with a degree of

oſten-

oſtentation, which ſhews, at leaſt, the honour they attach to it. Their natural propenſity to beneficence baniſhes avarice; and the Creoles are generous in their dealings.

They are ſtrangers to diſſimulation, craft and ſuſpicion. The pride they take in their frankneſs, the opinion they have of themſelves, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their commercial tranſactions all that myſtery and reſerve, which ſtifles natural goodneſs of diſpoſition, extinguiſhes the ſocial ſpirit and diminiſhes our ſenſibility.

A warm imagination, incapable of any reſtraint, renders them independent and inconſtant in their taſte. It perpetually hurries them with freſh ardour into pleaſures, to which they ſacrifice both their fortune and their whole exiſtence.

A remarkable degree of penetration, a quick facility in ſeizing all ideas, and expreſſing themſelves with vivacity; the power of combining added to the talent of obſervation, a happy mixture of all the qualities of the mind and of the heart which render men capable of the greateſt actions, will make them attempt every thing, when oppreſſion compels them to it.

The ſharp and ſaline air of the Caribbee iſlands deprives the women of that lively colour which is the beauty of their ſex. But they have an agreeable and fair complexion, which does not deprive the eyes of all that vivacity and power, that enables them to convey into the ſoul ſuch ſtrong impreſſions

BOOK XI. preſſions as are irreſiſtible. As they are extremely ſober, they drink nothing but chocolate, coffee and ſuch ſpirituous liquors as reſtore to the organs their tone and vigour enervated by the climate; while the men are continually drinking in proportion to the heat that exhauſts them.

THEY are very prolific, and often mothers of ten or twelve children. This fertility ariſes from love which ſtrongly attaches them to their huſbands; but which alſo throws them inſtantly into the arms of another, whenever death has diſſolved the union of a firſt or ſecond marriage.

JEALOUS even to diſtraction, they are ſeldom unfaithful. That indolence, which makes them neglect the means of pleaſing, the taſte which the men have for negro women, their particular manner of life, whether private or public, which precludes the opportunities or temptations to gallantry; theſe are the beſt ſupports of the virtue of theſe females.

THE ſolitary kind of manner in which they live in their houſes gives them an air of extreme timidity, which embarraſſes them in their intercourſe with the world. They loſe, even in early life, the ſpirit of emulation and choice, and this prevents them from cultivating the agreeable talents of education. They ſeem to have neither power nor taſte for any thing but dancing, which undoubtedly tranſports and animates them to higher pleaſures. This inſtinct of pleaſure attends them through their whole life; whether it is, that they ſtill

ſtill retain ſome ſhare of their youthful ſenſibility, or are ſtimulated with the recollection of it; or from other reaſons which are unknown to us.

From ſuch a conſtitution ariſes an extremely ſenſible and ſympathizing character, ſo that they cannot even bear the ſight of miſery; though they are, at the ſame time, rigid and ſevere with reſpect to the offices they require of thoſe domeſtics that are attached to their ſervice. More deſpotic and inexorable towards their ſlaves than the men themſelves, they feel no remorſe in ordering chaſtiſements, the ſeverity of which would be a puniſhment and a leſſon to them, if they were obliged to inflict them themſelves, or were witneſſes to them.

This ſlavery of the negroes is, perhaps, the cauſe from whence the Creoles in part derive a certain character, which makes them appear ſtrange, fantaſtic, and of an intercourſe not much reliſhed in Europe. From their earlieſt infancy they are accuſtomed to ſee a number of tall and ſtout men about them, whoſe buſineſs it is to conjecture and anticipate their wiſhes. This firſt view muſt immediately inſpire them with the moſt extravagant opinion of themſelves. Seldom meeting with any oppoſition to their caprice, though ever ſo unreaſonable, they aſſume a ſpirit of preſumption, tyranny and diſdain for a great part of mankind. Nothing is more inſolent than the man who always lives with his inferiors; but when theſe happen to be ſlaves, habituated to wait upon children,

BOOK XI. dren, to dread even their cries, which muſt expoſe them to puniſhment, what muſt maſters become who have never obeyed; wicked men who have never been puniſhed; and madmen who are uſed to put their fellow-creatures in irons?

So cruel an example of dependence gives the Americans that pride which muſt neceſſarily be deteſted in Europe, where a greater equality prevailing among men teaches them a greater ſhare of mutual reſpect. Educated without knowing either pain or labour, they are neither able to ſurmount difficulties, or bear contradiction. Nature hath given them every advantage, and fortune refuſed them nothing. In this reſpect, like moſt kings, they are unhappy, becauſe they have never experienced adverſity. If the climate did not ſtrongly excite them to love, they would be ignorant of every real pleaſure of the ſoul: and yet they ſeldom have the happineſs of forming an idea of thoſe paſſions, which thwarted by obſtacles and refuſals, are nouriſhed with tears and gratified with virtue. If they were not confined by the laws of Europe, which govern them by their wants, and repreſs or reſtrain the extraordinary degree of independence they enjoy, they would fall into a ſoftneſs and effeminacy which would in time render them the victims of their own tyranny, or would involve them in a ſtate of anarchy that would ſubvert all the foundations of their community.

But if they once ceaſed to have negroes for ſlaves, and kings who live at a diſtance from them for

for maſters, they, perhaps, would become the moſt aſtoniſhing people that ever appeared on earth. The ſpirit of liberty which they would imbibe from their earlieſt infancy; the underſtanding and abilities which they would inherit from Europe; the activity, which the neceſſity of repelling numerous enemies would inſpire; the large colonies they would have to form; the rich commerce they would have to found on an immenſe cultivation; the ranks and ſocieties they would have to create; and the maxims, laws and manners they would have to eſtabliſh on the principles of reaſon: all theſe ſprings of action would, perhaps, make of an equivocal and miſcellaneous race of people, the moſt flouriſhing nation that philoſophy and humanity could wiſh for the happineſs of the world.

If ever any fortunate revolution ſhould take place in the world, it will begin in America. After having experienced ſuch devaſtation, this new world muſt flouriſh in its turn, and, perhaps, command the old. It will become the aſylum of our people who have been oppreſſed by political eſtabliſhments, or driven away by war. The ſavage inhabitants will be civilized, and oppreſſed ſtrangers will become free. But it is neceſſary that this change ſhould be preceded by conſpiracies, commotions, and calamities; and that a hard and laborious education ſhould prediſpoſe their minds both to act and to ſuffer.

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Ye young Creoles, come into Europe to exercise and practise what we teach you; there to collect in the valuable remains of our ancient manners, that vigour which we have lost; there to study our weakness, and draw from our follies themselves those lessons of wisdom which produce great events. Leave in America your negroes, whose condition distresses us, and whose blood, perhaps, is mingled in all those ferments which alter, corrupt and destroy our population. Fly from an education of tyranny, effeminacy, and vice, which you contract from the habit of living with slaves, whose degraded station inspires you with none of those elevated and virtuous sentiments which can only give rise to a people that will become celebrated. America hath poured all the sources of corruption on Europe. To complete its vengeance, it must draw from it all the instruments of its prosperity. As it has been destroyed by our crimes, it must be renewed by our vices.

Nature seems to have destined the Americans to a greater share of happiness than the inhabitants of Europe. In the islands, such diseases as the gout, gravel, stone, apoplexies, pleurisies, complaints of the chest, and the various disorders occasioned by the winter, are scarcely known. None of those scourges of the human race which are so fatal in other countries, have ever made the least ravages there. If the air of the country can be withstood and the middle age be attained to, this

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is sufficient to insure a long and happy life. There old age is not weak, languishing and beset with those infirmities which affect it in our climate. BOOK XI.

Diseases to which the Europeans are subject in the islands.

In the Caribbee islands, however, new-born infants are attacked with a disease which seems peculiar to the torrid zone: it is called *tetanos*. If a child receives the impression of the air or wind, if the room where it is just born is exposed to smoke, to too much heat or cold, the disorder shews itself immediately. It first seizes the jaw, which becomes rigid and fixed, so as not to be opened. This spasm soon communicates itself to the other parts of the body; and the child dies for want of being able to take nourishment. If it escapes this danger, which threatens the nine first days of its existence, it has nothing to fear. The indulgences which are allowed to children before they are weaned, which is at the end of the twelve months, such as the use of coffee, chocolate, wine, but especially sugar and sweetmeats; these indulgences that are so pernicious to our children, are offered to those of America by nature, which accustoms them in early age to the productions of their climate.

The fair sex, naturally weak and delicate, has its infirmities as well as it charms. In the islands they are subject to a weakness, an almost total decay of their strength; an unconquerable aversion for all kind of wholesome food, and an irregular craving after every thing that is prejudicial to their health. Salt or spiced food is what they only relish

BOOK XI. and deſire. This diſeaſe is a true cachexy, which commonly degenerates into a dropſy. It is attributed to the diminution of the menſes in thoſe women who come from Europe, and to the weakneſs or total ſuppreſſion of that periodical diſcharge in Creoles.

THE men, more robuſt, are liable to more violent complaints. In this vicinity of the equator, they are expoſed to a hot and malignant fever, known under different names, and indicated by hæmorrhages. The blood which is boiling under the fervent rays of the ſun, is diſcharged from the noſe, eyes, and other parts of the body: nature in temperate climates does not move with ſuch rapidity, but that in the moſt acute diſorders there is time to obſerve and follow the courſe ſhe takes. In the iſlands, her progreſs is ſo rapid, that if we delay to attack the diſorder, as ſoon as it appears, its effects are certainly fatal. Thus it is, that the patient, in the ſpace of twenty-four hours muſt be bled fifteen or eighteen times, while in the intervals he has recourſe to other remedies. No ſooner is a perſon ſeized with ſickneſs, but the phyſician, the lawyer, and the prieſt, are all called to his bed-ſide.

MOST of thoſe who ſurvive theſe violent ſhocks, being exhauſted by the manner in which they have been treated, recover very ſlowly and with difficulty. Several fall into an habitual weakneſs, occaſioned by the debility of the whole machine, whom the noxious air of the country and the little nouriſh-

nourishment their food supplies, are not able to restore. Hence obstructions, jaundice, and swellings of the spleen, are produced, which sometimes terminate in dropsies. BOOK XI.

Almost all the Europeans who go over to America, are exposed to this danger, and frequently the Creoles themselves on their return from more temperate climates. But it never attacks women whose blood has the natural evacuations, and negroes, who, born under a hotter climate, are inured by nature, and prepared by free perspiration, for all the ferments that the sun can produce.

These violent fevers are certainly owing to the heat of the sun, whose rays are less oblique, and more constant than in our climates. This heat must undoubtedly thicken the blood through the excess of perspiration, a want of elasticity in the solids, and a dilatation of the vessels by the impulse of the fluids, whether in proportion to the rarefaction of the air, or the less degree of compression which the surface of the bodies is exposed to in a rarefied atmosphere.

Some of these inconveniences might, perhaps, be prevented, if persons going to America were purged and bled in their passage as they advanced toward the torrid zone; by repeating these precautions in the islands, and by the use of the cold bath.

But far from having recourse to these expedients, which reason indicates, the inhabitants fall into such excesses as are most likely to hasten and increase the disorder. The strangers who arrive

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rive at the Carribbee iſlands, are excited by the entertainments they are invited to, the pleaſures they partake of, and the kind reception they meet with; every thing induces them to an immoderate indulgence of all the pleaſures which cuſtom renders leſs prejudicial to thoſe who are born under this climate. Feaſting, dancing, gaming, late hours, wine, cordials and frequently the chagrin of diſappointment in their chimerical expectations, conſpire to add to the ferment of an immoderate heat of the blood, which ſoon becomes inflamed.

WITH ſuch indulgence, it is ſcarce poſſible to reſiſt the heats of this climate, when even the greateſt precautions are not ſufficient to ſecure perſons from the attack of thoſe dangerous fevers; when the moſt ſober and moderate men, who are the moſt averſe from every kind of exceſs; and the moſt careful of all their actions, are victims to the new air they breathe. In the preſent ſtate of the colonies, of ten men that go into the iſlands, four Engliſh die, three French, three Dutch, three Danes, and one Spaniard.

WHEN it was obſerved how many men were loſt in theſe regions, at the time they were firſt occupied, it was generally thought, that the ſtates who had the ambition of ſettling there would be depopulated in the end.

Advantages of thoſe nations that are in poſſeſſion of the iſlands.

EXPERIENCE hath altered the public opinion upon this point. In proportion as theſe colonies have extended their plantations, they have been ſupplied with freſh means of expence. Theſe have

have opened into their mother country new ſources of conſumption. The increaſe in exportations could not take place without an increaſe of labour. Theſe labours have brought together a greater number of men, which will ever be the caſe when the means of ſubſiſtence are multiplied. Even foreigners have reſorted in great multitudes to thoſe kingdoms, which opened a vaſt field to their ambition and induſtry.

POPULATION not only increaſed among the proprietors of the iſlands, but the people have alſo become more happy. Our felicity in general is proportioned to our conveniences, and it muſt increaſe as we can vary and extend them. The iſlands have been productive of this advantage to their poſſeſſors. They have drawn from theſe fertile regions a number of commodities, the conſumption of which hath added to their enjoyments. They have acquired ſome, which when exchanged for others among their neighbours, have made them partake of the luxuries of other climates. In this manner, the kingdoms which have acquired the poſſeſſion of the iſlands, by fortunate circumſtances, or by well combined projects, are become the reſidence of the arts, and of all the polite amuſements which are a natural and neceſſary conſequence of great plenty.

BUT this is not the only advantage: theſe colonies have raiſed the nations that founded them to a ſuperiority of influence in the political world, by the following means. Gold and ſilver, which form

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form the general circulation of Europe, come from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. They belong neither to the Spaniards nor the Portugueſe, but to people, who give their merchandiſe in exchange for theſe metals. Theſe people have commercial tranſactions with each other, that are ultimately ſettled at Liſbon and Cadiz, which may be looked upon as a common and univerſal repoſitory. It is in theſe places that one muſt judge of the increaſe or decline of the trade of each nation. That nation whoſe accounts of ſale and purchaſe are kept in balance with the reſt, receive the whole intereſt of its capital. That which hath purchaſed more than it hath ſold, withdraws leſs than its intereſt; becauſe it hath ceded a part of it, in order to ſatisfy the demands of the nation to which it was indebted. That which has ſold more to other nations than it hath purchaſed of them, does not only get what was owing from Spain and Portugal, but alſo the profit it has derived from other nations with whom it hath made exchanges. This laſt advantage is peculiar to the people who poſſeſs the iſlands. Their capital is annually increaſed by the ſale of the valuable productions of theſe countries; and the augmentation of their ſtock confirms their ſuperiority, and renders them the arbiters of peace and war. But we ſhall explain, in the following Books, how far each nation hath increaſed its power by the poſſeſſion of the iſlands.

End of the Eleventh Book.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.